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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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15 January 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

AMERICAN NEWSPAPERMAN ANSWERED ON MISSILES

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 24 Oct 84 p 1

[Article by Miroslav Vizdal: "An Answer to an American Colleague"]

[Text] A group of American newspapermen came recently to Czechoslovakia in order to get acquainted with life in our country. They asked, among other things, for an opportunity to meet Czechoslovakian journalists. The meeting took place on 8 October in the building of the Czech Journalists Association in Prague. It may be said that it was instructive in many respects. Within 2 hours we answered more than 30 questions. What were the questions of our American colleagues? They were varied. Some serious, based on a sincere interest to learn; some naive (for example: "Are women allowed to work on your newspapers?" Or: "Does Czechoslovakia also have reporters abroad?"); some were downright provocative. That, after all, could easily be expected, just like the compliments on the undisputed beauty of Prague. But all this does not prevent American readers in some states from learning that there is only one hotel in Prague, that we have nothing to eat and that the only thing served to the American guest at that hotel was unsweetened tea with a piece of bread. Yes, even this happened, even such "objective" reports on Czechoslovakia were published in the Western press. But I would like to return to one particular question which came up during the discussion.

"Are you glad that Soviet missiles are deployed on your territory?"

The question was asked by an older, red-cheeked man who, looking around with unabashed amusement, expected to see us squirm in embarrassment. Well, we were not embarrassed.

That question, dear colleague, was not put accurately. It is senseless to judge a fact without knowing the causes. And the causes are conclusive.

World War I lasted 1,564 days, 36 countries participated in it and the results were 10 million dead and 20 million wounded. World War II lasted 2,194 days, 70 countries participated and its final horrifying statistics showed 50 million dead and 35 million wounded. In both cases, most of the battles were fought in good old Europe. Incidentally, another statistic has something to say on this. Do you know what were the losses of the Allies per thousand inhabitants?

USSR--116, Yugoslavia--108, Greece--70, Czechoslovakia--25, USA--in 15th place--2.9. This clearly proves what, based on its own experience, the attitude of each country toward another worldwide conflict is. Your president keeps talking about the danger from the East, about the danger that the Soviet Union might start another war. Please, do give it a thought: at the end of the war, there were in the Soviet Union 1,700 towns and 70,000 villages left destroyed--but none in the United States. In the Soviet Union 32,000 industrial plants were destroyed at the end of the war--not one in the United States. Therefore, dear colleague, please judge for yourself the logic of the arguments of your president and all the "good advisers" around him. What you in fact asked was if we enjoy the presence of American missiles in Europe, and to this we emphatically reply--No! And we are not even glad about the fatal mistake of Ronald Reagan, who supposes that an eventual war would again be fought on the old continent. We are simply not happy about anything smelling of the danger of war, because we have our experiences. Had you realized it, you would have never asked such a question.

12707

CSO: 2400/148

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

CHILEAN TRADE UNIONISTS VISIT--Mirosław Spaniel, secretary general of the Central Trade Union Council, received on Sunday in Prague a delegation of the Sole Central Organization Chilean Workers [CUT]; members of the delegation were Mario Navarro, chairman of the CUT, and Bernardo Vargas, secretary general of the CUT Foreign Affairs Committee. The delegation is visiting Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Central Trade Union Council. In a friendly discussion, Mario Navarro reported on the latest development of events in Chile. Possibilities of a further development of cooperation between the Czechoslovakian and Chilean Trade Union movements were also considered. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Dec 84 p 2] 12707

CSO: 2400/148

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED'S FELFE ON GDR ECONOMY, PORTUGAL VISIT

PM061615 Lisbon AVANTE! in Portuguese 22 Nov 84 pp 10-11 (supplement)

[Unattributed interview with SED Politburo member Werner Felte; date and place not given]

[Text] Question: The capitalist countries are experiencing a profound crisis. What is the situation in the GDR?

Answer: A few days ago the GDR celebrated the 35th anniversary of its foundation. On that occasion our party, our state, and our entire people were able to form an impressive overall assessment. Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED and president of the State Council, observed in his celebration speech that the socialist GDR has consistently pursued the proven approach of its policy for the people and with the people, despite complex international conditions. He said: "In Germany, too, it has been shown how creative a people can be when, freed from the exploitation of man by man, they organize and constantly improve their lives for the sake of their happiness."

At the same time our party general secretary drew attention to the fact that in the consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 10th SED Congress tasks have arisen "which are not confined to meeting the demands that have arisen at all stages of the path traveled so far but which often exceed those demands."

The GDR is a politically stable socialist state with a very dynamic economy, and is characterized by continuous development in all areas of social life. Within this context the close cooperation and comradeship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states within CEMA has constituted a sound foundation for us. Thus during the commemorations of our 35th anniversary in October the Soviet Union and the GDR approved an accord on technological and scientific cooperation valid through the year 2000.

The GDR economy has an annual growth rate of 4-5 percent, whereas in many capitalist countries we are witnessing stagnation and even cutbacks in production.

The essence of our party's policy is that, freed of any kind of exploitation workers, cooperative peasants, scientists and all working people, by increasing their efforts and their output, are helping their state and at the same time increasing their own prosperity. Not a single person is denied the fruits of his own labor.

By the end of October 1984 our GNP had increased by 5.3 percent. The output of industrial products had increased by 4.3 percent and labor productivity by 7.6 percent. At the same time production costs fell by 2.5 percent. In agriculture in 1984 the GDR will achieve its highest ever figures for crop production, considerably surpassing the plan targets for livestock production, too. The GDR is a country open to close relations on the international market. Of course, imperialist forces try to unload onto the socialist countries the consequences of capitalism's economic crisis. The ways and means of all kinds used to this end, particularly by the United States, are known. It is enough to consider the sanctions, the high interest rates policy, the obstacles to technology transfers, and so forth.

Back at its 10th congress our party adopted a stance with respect to this new situation and drew up an economic strategy for the eighties. The cornerstone of this strategy lies in establishing an even closer link between technological and scientific progress and the advantages of socialism. So it is necessary even more consistently and objectively to stimulate the enthusiasm of all the creative forces of the working class, the cooperative peasant class, intellectuals, and all working people. To this end we take to heart Lenin's lesson that labor productivity is crucial to the victory of the socialist system. And this is the task that workers in enterprises and cooperatives are tackling consistently and responsibly. In this connection one should cite in particular the members of our FDJ (Free German Youth), who distinguish themselves in major projects and initiatives.

We are, therefore, resolutely convinced that the GDR, as a member of the community of socialist states, will continue its dynamic development in the future too. In the party's strategy for the eighties we have a tried and tested program based on experience.

Question: A high degree of growth has been achieved in industry in the GDR. Does the same apply to agriculture?

Answer: Dynamic development is going on in socialist agriculture, too. The SED's agricultural policy is constantly guided by the strengthening of the proven alliance between the working class and the class of cooperative peasants. Once our party had creatively implemented the Leninist cooperation plan, under the GDR's own conditions, favorable conditions were created for better and better exploitation of the possibilities of cooperative ownership and of the strengthening of the cooperative peasant class. In this connection our party basically aims at two objectives in agriculture:

1. Systematically to increase agricultural output and efficiency, and to ensure steady supplies of foodstuffs for the population and the supply of raw materials for industry.
2. To bring living conditions in the villages closer to those of the cities so as gradually to eliminate the major differences between the cities and the countryside.

Thus, thanks to the diligent work of the cooperative peasants and the workers, it has been possible to achieve annual increases in arable and livestock production. Whereas 35 years ago small peasants produced only 18.1 quintals of grain

per hectare, the GDR's output in 1984 will be about 45 quintals per hectare. The output of arable products has increased 150 percent. The output of live-stock products has also increased considerably. Thus over this period the production of fatstock has increased 600 percent, dairy cattle 210 percent, and eggs 570 percent.

Nowadays our cooperative peasants are highly qualified. Over 90 percent of them have undergone specialized training. Modern agricultural techniques now alleviate the peasants' work, since most farming operations are mechanized.

For several years the GDR's agriculture has supplied the population's needs in terms of home-produced animal products. The peasants have no experience of insecurity as far as their living conditions are concerned. The socialist state guarantees them stable prices and purchases all the products they produce. This has helped to promote the peasants' enthusiasm and initiative and encourages them to constantly step up production, thus increasing their own prosperity.

Question: How is the dynamic development of the economy in the GDR reflected in the workers' social conditions?

Answer: In the 35 years of its existence our worker-peasant state has carried out massive achievements. At the solemn commemorative session on the GDR's 35th anniversary Comrade Erich Honecker expressed high appreciation of the efforts of the workers, peasants, scientists, and working people. The GDR people's diligent work and major creative achievements and the great intensification of work rates are reflected in the citizens, too. Our party and our socialist state have proved able, even under increasingly complex conditions, to continue their policy aimed at the people's prosperity.

Consequently:

the prices of foodstuffs, all essential commodities, services, and house rents, have been stable and low for many, many years;

the output of the active population increases annually at an average rate of about 4 percent;

All students attending higher polytechnical institutes attend free of charge (the courses being 10 years in duration). All 12-year course students receive study subsidies from the state;

all young people leaving school have an apprenticeship or a place in higher education and are guaranteed a job at the end of their apprenticeship or higher education. All students receive grants;

there is no unemployment in the GDR;

this year new social allowances were introduced for families with three or more children. Pensions and other allowances for pensioners were increased;

citizens' health care is free;

the housing construction program begun by the party has been consistently implemented. In 1984, for instance, over 200,000 apartments will be constructed or modernized. House rents are equivalent to 5 percent of citizens' average incomes.

These examples show that in the GDR security and prosperity are an integral and irreversible part of our lives. In other words, in the homeland of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, too, socialism has proved its historical superiority!

At the same time it is also becoming clear that our party's action has always been directed toward the people's prosperity, or, as Marx said, "for man, man is the supreme being."

All our party's and our socialist state's measures have always had, and still have, the people's interests as their objective. Thus it has been, thus it is, and thus it will be in the future, too.

Question: Comrade, what prospects do you see in the people's joint struggle for security and maintaining peace?

Answer: Peace is mankind's supreme asset. Nothing could ever be more important than the struggle to maintain it. But it is also a fact that, because of U.S. imperialism's and NATO's dangerous policy of confrontation and rearmament and their efforts to attain military superiority, peace is threatened by the most serious dangers since World War II. Nobody can allow the peoples to be subjected to a nuclear inferno.

The deployment of new first-strike nuclear weapons in Western Europe has alarmed mankind. Throughout the world the peoples have raised their voices against the deployment of these weapons of mass destruction. We support the peace-loving forces' appeal to the imperialist states' political leaders: Halt the deployment of Pershing-II and cruise missiles! Dismantle the systems already deployed! Return to the situation that existed before the deployment began! Only then will the way be open to fruitful negotiations on arms limitation and reduction and the resolution of many other issues. Recent years have shown us--and the people know--that more weapons do not lead to more security! Therefore, our party, and in particular our general secretary Comrade Erich Honecker, have spoken out resolutely in favor of all measures contributing to security and peace. This is why we practice political dialogue. This is why we advocate the continuation of peaceful coexistence, to which there is no alternative.

In this connection the socialist states have put forward a large number of proposals. And we are confident, because we know that the peoples are very well aware who is active in the peace struggle and who is entrenched behind peace-loving demagoguery.

We also proclaim that the socialist states will never allow the United States to attain military supremacy, since if Europe has lived at peace for 40 years it is due precisely to the maintenance of this balance [sentence as published].

Question: Comrade, what impressions have you gained from your visit to Portugal?

Answer: During its visit to Portugal our delegation has made the acquaintance of excellent friends and comrades in the struggle, communists, democrats, and progressives who are struggling side by side for progress and social justice, for the defense of the gains of the April revolution and for a democratic alternative, for Portugal's national independence and for a secure peace.

The talks with your party's secretary general, Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, and with Comrades Carlos Costa and Jaime Serra and the many contacts with steadfast communists have shown us the passion, the realism, and the communist spirit with which the struggle for the working people's rights is proceeding under Portugal's complex conditions. And we encountered this spirit throughout the country--in the university city of Coimbra and in the agricultural cooperatives of the Condeixa and Santarem districts, among the dock workers at Figuerira da Foz and particularly among the Sorefame workers at Amadora. At your party rally in the workers district of Brandoa the close alliance between the Communists of the GDR and Portugal was clear. Shoulder to shoulder, we are struggling for the finest cause in the world. Our visit has been a reflection of the fraternal alliance between our two parties. It will help to strengthen our unity of action and to extend the building of our cooperation. We wish Portuguese Communists many successes in their future struggles.

CSO: 3542/81

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GDR LAWYER CONFIRMS NO NEW CONCESSIONS ON PRAGUE CASE

LD171941 Hamburg DPA in German 1847 GMT 17 Dec 84

[Excerpts] Berlin, 17 Dec (DPA)—Wolfgang Vogel, East Berlin lawyer, says that the GDR refugees sheltered in the FRG Embassy in Prague cannot expect any further concessions from the GDR Government. In a personal statement to the editors of the Radio Free Berlin [SFB] television program "Kontraste" he made comments in tonight's program. As quoted by SFB, he said: "My government insists that only the homeland authorities can decide on cases after a voluntary return. After my talks in Prague, no further concessions can be expected in addition to impunity and the processing of exit applications. That is well known in Bonn."

Vogel who for years was instrumental in ransoming prisoners, criticized promises made in public. In his talks with the GDR refugees in Prague, he found that the GDR citizens concerned were adversely influenced by public demands for, or promises of, solutions which could not be fulfilled. They received wrong advice in their conflict [words indistinct]. The GDR fugitives were given the wrong impression that the GDR and Federal Governments are negotiating on this complicated matter. "There have been no such negotiations. Nor will there be any." As a lawyer he merely provided an opportunity to represent those concerned, once they voluntarily returned and deal with all problems expressed to him to Prague. Vogel went to Prague last Friday to talk to the GDR refugees in the West German Embassy after 40 of the 68 refugees went on hunger strike. State Secretary Ludwig Rehlinger of the Bonn Ministry for Intra-German Relations was also in Prague at the end of last week in a vain attempt to persuade the fugitives.

CSO: 2300/191

GDR REFUGEES IN FRG EMBASSY IN PRAGUE TO GO ON HUNGER STRIKE

DW141033 Hamburg BILD in German 14 Dec 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] The refugees in our embassy in Prague have passed an open letter to BILD. They are hoping for an international response. The following is the text:

Prague, 7 December 1984--To the FRG press! We approach you with the request to publish the following demands from those seeking refuge in the FRG Embassy in Prague.

Despite urgent requests for access to the FRG mass media, the Foreign Ministry issued a general ban against contacting us.

We noted with astonishment that the positive statements of State Secretary Rehlinger were ignored by the Foreign Ministry, and that the promised opportunities for contacts were rejected.

On 14 December 1984, those seeking refuge in the FRG Embassy in Prague (except children, young people, and persons in poor health) will begin a hunger strike to emphasize the following demands on the GDR:

1. Generous processing of exit applications by GDR applicants, with no reprisals.
2. Abandonment of the GDR Government's inflexible position toward the Germans seeking refuge in FRG embassies.
3. Resettlement for us without red tape ... to the FRG.
4. Access to the press, radio, and television as well as to FRG organizations offering to help, without prosecution by the GDR authorities.
5. Medical assistance in the FRG Embassy in Prague by German Red Cross.

We state that we fled to the FRG Embassy in Prague because of the political situation in the GDR, and that for us this was the only possible step to get out of a hopeless situation. Most of the people seeking refuge have been submitting exit permit applications for years without success.

Massive influence is being exerted on us by official representatives of the Federal Government to leave the embassy in Prague before our problem is clarified and to return to the GDR.

We cannot understand how this behavior can be justified under the FRG Basic Law.

We request a reponse to our November letter to FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Mr Franz Josef Strauss, minister president of the Free State of Bavaria.

[signed] Those seeking refuge in the FRG Embassy, Prague.

CSO: 2300/192

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG MAYOR ARRESTED IN GDR FOR PART IN ESCAPE ATTEMPT

LD201532 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1317 GMT 20 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin, 20 Dec (DPA)--At the GDR border-crossing point of Marienborn, an FRG citizen, Ernst Hubert von Michaelis, mayor of the town of Arolsen, was arrested. A warrant for his arrest had been issued because in 1977 he had been extensively involved in organizing a subversive act by a criminal gang operating from West Berlin, in which a 6-month-old baby was killed.

In the organization of the crime, von Michaelis worked closely with criminals known to the court, such as Juergen Steinhäuser and Egon Hartung and acted as a courier himself. In carrying out the act, a drug addict under the influence of heroin was used to drive a truck that was unsafe and unroadworthy in transit traffic. In accordance with instructions the baby was given an overdose of sleeping tablets prepared by the gang. This unscrupulous act led to the death of the child. The accused has confessed.

Within the framework of a request for legal assistance from the public prosecutor to the Higher Regional Court of Berlin-West, comprehensive evidence was already passed on in 1977. Despite this overwhelming evidence, von Michaelis was questioned only as a witness and Steinhäuser was only given a fine for the misuse of official registration numbers for trucks. Apart from the letters [word indistinct], the public prosecutor ordered the issue of an arrest warrant and search. On the basis of this legal foundation, von Michaelis was arrested on 14 December 1984. The arrest has been notified to the relevant FRG judicial authorities by the public prosecutor.

CSO: 2300/195

SED CC CONGRATULATES MEMBERS OF GDR JUDICIARY

AU102218 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 Dec 84 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--The SED Central Committee has sent a congratulatory message to the members of the GDR judiciary. The letter, which is signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, runs as follows:

On the occasion of the awarding in 1984 of the honorary title "Meritorious Jurist of the GDR," the SED Central Committee conveys to you cordial greetings and congratulations.

In the 35th year of the GDR's existence, which at the same time is the anniversary year of the establishment of the GDR Supreme Court and of the Prosecutor General's Office, the members of the GDR judiciary have again done reliable work for the universal consolidation and strengthening of the socialist state and legal order. In close solidarity with the people and in firm community with the security organs, you help ensure that no one is permitted to touch our worker-peasant power. You are consistently protecting the constitutionally guaranteed rights and interests of the citizens. You are constantly working to strengthen the working people's sense of loyalty to the state and to the legal system [Staats- und Rechtsbewusstsein].

The SED Central Committee expressed its thanks and appreciation of this to all members of the judiciary.

The preparations for the 11th SED Congress are also making high demands on the members of the judiciary regarding the further universal strengthening of our socialist fatherland. We are convinced that the judiciary will make a worthy contribution to the further implementation of our policy aimed at the welfare of the people and peace.

The preservation of socialist legality regarding big and small issues is strengthening the citizens' trust in the socialist state and consolidates the authority of the judicial organs. It is an honorary task, and at the same time your contribution to the further growth and flourishing of our worker-peasant state, to guarantee high legal security at any time and everywhere in our country, as an important accomplishment of socialism.

The SED Central Committee wishes you much success in resolving this great task, as well as the best of health and personal well-being.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

AXEN MEETS U.S. COMMUNIST PARTY'S TYNER

LD072128 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1512 GMT 7 Dec 84

[Text] Berlin, 7 Dec (ADN)--Securing peace, disarmament, and detente was the main topic of a talk Friday between Hermann Axen, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and Jarvis Tyner, member of the U.S. Communist Party Politburo.

There was agreement in stressing the present need to develop more closely the cooperation of communist and workers' parties and of all forces of reason and realism in order to put an end in good time to the nuclear war plans, which are a danger to mankind, of the most aggressive circles of imperialism, particularly the United States, and to return to peaceful coexistence.

The partners in the talks confirmed the full support of the SED and the United States Communist Party for the latest peace proposals made by Konstantin Chernenko, which were directed at putting a stop to the arms race and consisted of effective steps for an arms freeze and disarmament. In this spirit, both sides welcomed the meeting between the foreign ministers of the USSR and the United States, scheduled for January 1985.

Axen and Tyner strongly condemned the undeclared war by U.S. imperialism against Nicaragua and confirmed the firm solidarity of both parties with the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the people of Nicaragua in the just struggle for freedom and national independence.

Axen spoke about the decisions of the ninth meeting of the Central Committee and the movement of the people of the GDR in preparation for the 11th SED Party Congress.

Tyner reported on the internal political situation in the United States following the presidential election.

In the talks, which took place in the spirit of agreement and internationalism, both partners paid tribute to the close, fraternal cooperation between the SED and the United States Communist Party and discussed steps for its further development.

CSO: 2300/193

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW COMBAT TRAINING REGULATIONS FOR GROUND FORCES

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 18 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by Michael Mara: "The 'Certainty of Victory' Leaves Something to be Desired; New Combat Regulations for the GDR Ground Forces"]

[Text] New combat regulations have recently been introduced in the GDR ground forces. Their principles and norms are to be implemented in the training year presently beginning. The regulations are based on the combat possibilities that have grown through the introduction of modern weaponry and warfare and on "the increased requirements of modern combat." They are intended to raise the fighting power and combat readiness of the troops.

The combat regulations contain new and specified determinations for combat assignment. The regulations for the organization of combat activities and for the leadership of the units have been expanded considerably. Political work, including hate and enemy propaganda, is a basic component of combat preparation and execution. The main points of the political work for the various combat actions are laid down in the regulations.

The East Berlin military leadership is urging that the soldiers be prepared for "the most severe tests of war." As expressed by the head of the ground forces, Col Gen Horst Stechbarth, in the journal MILITAERWESSEN (THE MILITARY), the training of soldiers must therefore be carried out under conditions "more similar to combat" and "under high mental stress" so that they will be superior to the enemy in case of war. In the view of the GDR military leaders, the new combat regulations furnish all the prerequisites for such a more realistic preparation of soldiers for a possible war.

Naturally, the hard-trained Soviet army sets the standards. The new combat regulations of the GDR land forces are identical to the Soviet regulations and call for identical action in every situation. The so-called battle norms agree completely with those of the Soviet land forces, that is to say, the same is demanded of the GDR soldiers as of the "comrades in arms" with the Red Star. This is a prerequisite for the ability of the GDR units to fight smoothly under Soviet command in case of war.

The head of the political headquarters of the National People's Army, Col Gen Heinz Kessler, explained some time ago in a speech to party officials of the armed forces what is at stake. At stake, he said, is "a new quality in the determination and capacity for joint action under a single command." The GDR soldiers are to become accustomed to this through increasingly closer "political and military cooperation" with the Soviet troops.

In this connection, incidently, a "better command" of the Russian language is being demanded of the members of the army, especially of the officers and NCOs. The students at the military training centers are to receive a "more effective and efficient training in Russian" in order to increase the degree of active command of the Russian language, which is "the major means of communication" for the armies of the Warsaw Pact.

The reservations existing in the GDR population and even among soldiers concerning the Soviet Union, its military policy and the Soviet army together with the fears resulting from this are to be reduced or eliminated through an intensive political campaign of persuasion. Kessler is calling for "the formation of patriotic and internationalist thinking and action" on the part of the soldiers and for a firm repudiation of "all attempts of the enemy to split the socialist military alliance by means of anti-Sovietism and nationalism."

Doubt and skepticism concerning the Soviet Union and its armed forces express themselves in another respect as well: there are soldiers who do not believe in the superiority or quality of the Soviet weaponry in comparison to that of the West and, above all, to that of the Americans. These views have received additional confirmation from the problems experienced in the introduction and testing of new weaponry and technology. Thus the soldiers are to recognize that the "high effectiveness" of Soviet weapons technology "depends on their own military expertise."

Nevertheless, the "certainty of victory" in the minds of some of the GDR soldiers leaves something to be desired. In addition to a lack of confidence in their own war technology, the knowledge of the terrible consequences of a nuclear war doubtlessly also plays a role here. The East Berlin military leadership is reacting to this with the call for greater effort in molding the soldiers' "will to fight and be victorious." As the army newspaper VOLKSARMEE (PEOPLE'S ARMY) recently confirmed, this task is central in the "overall political, moral and psychological preparation for a possible war."

9992

CSO: 2300/152

WAYS TO 'DEMOCRATIZE' ELECTIONS DEBATED

Warsaw ODDRODZENIE in Polish No 48, 27 Nov 84 pp 1,3

[Interview with Krzysztof Kotlarek by Stanislaw Gebethner: "A Step Further"]

[Text] [Question] More than a year ago, in announcing its position on voting regulations for the people's councils, the Council of State "decreed" an exchange of views on this subject. Until then, the mass media maintained an official silence on these regulation. In your opinion, should it continue to do so?

[Answer] I feel that it was not right to initiate discussion on the Sejm election regulations without preliminary preparation. By "preliminary preparation" I mean broader discussion in the form of a free tribune within, of course, the given restrictions of the mass media. Such an exchange of views would make possible not only a more comprehensive and analytical approach to specific postulates but would at the same time allow us to eliminate by rational argument any proposals that conflict with our political system, do not address actual problems, or are too "futuristic" or anachronistic.

Let us look at the problem of indirect election of provincial people's councils which was proposed in the assumptions for elections to regional representative bodies. It created many unnecessary arguments and controversy that took our attention away from more important matters. The election process should have been discussed earlier, at least during consultation on legislation for the people's councils and the territorial government system. I could still point out other problems which, in my opinion, were responsible for unnecessary "noise" and conflict in the discussion at that time. These involved the question of secret balloting the complicating factor of how candidate lists were to be arranged. In other words, I regret that an exchange of views on the principles of voting regulations for the people's council elections was preceded by official silence in the press, radio and television. I think that this mistake should not be repeated.

[Question] We have just now discussed the first of a series of problems connected with reform of the law on Sejm elections -- the very means by which consultation on new solutions are taken. Outwardly, this problem seems to be just technical in nature.

[Answer] Aside from the problem of methodology, we must also deal with constitutional considerations but in its own good time. Beginning with the first aspect, I would like to return for a moment to the discussion already mentioned which has already continued for over a year. In my opinion, the bad thing about the method used then was that the publication of principles meant to arouse and exchange of views came as a surprise to most of the PRON aktiv, the political parties and trade unions, etc. These people were not well prepared for the role they had to take. They just had too many doubts. Now we should handle things differently. The problem must exist before it is officially created.

For that reason, I propose that before the bill is presented publicly, we must conduct preliminary discussions and not only in the mass media but also and chiefly within PRON itself and the political parties. As you know, we used such an approach to work out a bill on public consultation and referendums. This is no longer anything new to PRON cells and activists since a year ago it was already possible for them to become acquainted with its principles. Furthermore, we used the pages of ODRÓDZENIE to try to keep everyone more fully informed on the current state of work and the problems that were being encountered. Perhaps someone will accuse us of dragging things out somewhat but the method itself cannot be criticized.

Let us now look at the second aspect of the problem -- the constitutional and legal aspect. This brings up the question of who should submit the bill (principles) for the voting regulations for discussion in the Sejm. I seriously doubt that we can afford to duplicate the pattern used last year when the Council of State published the voter regulations for people's council elections and then produced the pertinent legislative initiative. This was justified at the time by the authority that the Council of State exercises over the territorial organs of the central government. As for the Sejm elections voting regulations, I would insist that the legislative initiative be submitted by a group of deputies. The constitution guarantees them of this right. All of the voting regulations for Sejm elections were adopted from initiatives by the deputies.

The consultation procedure here should therefore be somewhat different from the procedure used in the voter regulations for people's council elections. Once the legislative initiative has been presented by a group of deputies, it is read very thoroughly and the problems are discussed. The Sejm should then suspend work for 4 to 6 weeks to set up a public exchange of views. It could do this on the basis of current regulations as well as the special law. The pattern for the exchange of views should be the solutions proposed in PRON's draft of a bill for public consultation and referendums. Of course, the responsible Sejm commission would have to continue working to obtain the recommendations and opinions of the public. These would be used to formulate the final version of the bill and to settle outstanding problems in the second reading.

[Question] The concept is clear enough to me except for one thing, the role of PRON. After all, you do know that some people feel that the movement should work out a bill on regulations and submit it for public consultation...

[Answer] Yes, I know. The government press spokesman has even spoken about this recently. Such solutions can, of course, be taken under consideration. I am still not personally convinced. If we wish to find a body other than the Sejm that could work out the principles of the bill, that might more properly be the PZPR, ZSL and SD Cooperation Commission supplemented by representatives of lay Catholic associations. After all, these parties are the backbone of our political system and the electoral system has been formed according to the desires and interests of the political parties. However, the best solution for our needs and situation seems to be for the deputies to make the legislative initiative. There are three more arguments in favor of this approach.

First, the discussion organized by the Sejm would form a natural beginning for the elections campaign.

Second, this would increase the importance of the Sejm as the supreme organ of power in the state. I think that there have never been too many ways we can strengthen the Sejm's position.

Third, such a solution seems to be closer to the spirit of the PRON charter. The congress gave PRON the role of exercising the right to "official" criticism of government actions.

For that reason, PRON has not been charged with preparation of a bill for voting regulations for either the Sejm or people's council elections. On the other hand, it was ordered to assess them and present some of its own solutions and it did declare what it felt should be the substance of these legal documents. This is logical and we should retain this practice. Let us add that, for the future of the movement and its ability to organize public opinion, it would be better for PRON to assess and propose certain solutions so that it would not have to work out all of the bill alone. This will not hinder PRON from being an important and perhaps even the chief participant in discussions. This will not even prevent it from having a great influence on the final version.

[Question] I agree with your concept for PRON's role as well as your proposal that it exercise the same functions during consultations for people's council voting regulations. I also think that many PRON activists will agree with this concept since it creates conditions under which independent alternative solutions can be formulated.

However, I would like to ask you about your opinion on another problem. We frequently encounter two entirely different groups of views on the subject of reforming the Sejm electoral law. Some say that both legislators and political executives are in an easier situation because they already have already experienced a change in the methods for electing people's councils. I presume that those who say so have something else in mind which may be that a decision was made at that time to take a certain direction and nothing would be simpler than to go ahead and continue as before and let the problem solve itself. However, there are also those that believe in an entirely different approach. They believe that no simple analogy can be made between the Sejm and people's

council elections because these organs are differently situated in our political system and the principles governing the mechanisms of their creation are different. Therefore, the degree of difficulty is no less now than it was more than a year ago. With which group of opinions do you most agree?

[Answer] In principle, with neither. Although I think the first group is right to a certain extent, I say that I disagree "in principle" because the arguments of their adversaries are more convincing. We are in an easier situation because we have a certain amount of fresh experience and ideas from 1984 but this is not such a great advantage because the solutions used this year were applied elections which were supposed to elect organs that are differently situated in the Polish political system. For this reason, I would like to warn against the use of any such simple analogies. There are still many other reasons to avoid making analogies of this type.

In my opinion, some of the solutions used in the voting regulations for people's council elections were makeshift in nature because they were devised under enormous public pressure. Therefore, they will not, in the end, satisfy the needs of any program to reform the electoral system. It would be a mistake to say that the decisions made in the people's council voting regulations are perfect for our system or that they can determine the type of changes that will be made in the Sejm electoral laws.

At this point, I must also emphasize that, although I am critical of the changes made in the people's council voting regulations (due to their makeshift and emotional nature and their excessive caution towards democratization), I do feel that the February 1984 reform of the electoral law has, in essence, "crushed" anachronistic structures that have long lost their political and social meaning. It would hard for us to now return to the old electoral system because we have broken with the concepts used in the past 20-odd years.

I think that everyone should agree with this positive assessment, even those who were not satisfied with the degree of democratization of the voting regulations for people's council elections. Furthermore, the people who have been working on changes in the Sejm elections law have reached one general conclusion: they cannot assume that the degree of democratization may now be less. If we were at point A in February 1984, we have now moved to point B.

[Question] Exactly. However, there is no lack of people who feel just the opposite. They say that in people's council elections, the citizens should have a wider choice because the councils are not organs that decide the "to be nor not to be" of our system. On the other hand, the Sejm is just such an organ and the field of maneuver is restricted...

[Answer] This is not completely true. We should now give up the illusion that the Sejm elections are so crucial to our principles of government. These elections are of great political importance but they do not in any way decide the "to be or not to be" of the government. I am prepared to defend the assertion that they determine the entire mechanism of power neither in a bourgeois system nor in our system in particular. Sejm elections are only one factor, perhaps an important one, but still just one of many.

After all, according to the Constitution, the party system and the leading role of the PZPR are also an important element of the system. There are other elements that have a parallel function in the system of popular representation. For that reason, it cannot be truly said that the existence of the authorities depends solely and totally on the outcome of elections! Elections can, of course, strengthen or weaken the government's authority, position or legitimacy but they cannot overthrow it.

I therefore feel that our need to reform the laws on Sejm elections does not in any way speak against the greater degree of democratization that we have achieved in the Sejm elections or the people's council elections. I think that we can and should decide on more democracy.

[Question] Could you very briefly explain your understanding of the demand for democratization? This is such a generalized postulate that it can mean many things.

[Answer] The demand for democratization of the electoral system, especially in the context of the coming Sejm elections, is something that I understand as full and authentic realization of the postulates of PRON's first congress. This means that we must adopt voting regulations that make it possible for all voters to make an equal choice between several candidates (that means without any statutory or alphabetical preference) with guaranteed secret balloting. Any lessening of the democratic nature of elections (such as a central list of candidates or letting the signatories alone determine the candidates) can only be allowed if the postulate above is fulfilled.

[Question] That is your own personal view. I agree with it but this does not of course mean that no one can be of a different opinion on this or any other subject.

However, before I thank you for the conversation, I would like to bring up one more point. We have been so intrigued by methodological matters that we did not have a chance to talk about specific proposals for changing the Sejm election voting regulations. After all, that is your specialization and you could tell us much of interest on this subject.

[Answer] If that would be interesting, I am ready to meet you again. The most important thing is that the discussion to be lively.

[Question] I think that we have contributed to that. I will hold you to your word and I thank you for the conversation.

12261

CSO: 2600/323

IMPROVEMENTS IN GERMAN-POLISH RELATIONS SEEN BY VOGEL

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Nov 84 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Hans Jochen Vogel, chairman of the SDP caucus in the Bundestag, by Marie Wagrowska of RZECZPOSPOLITA]

[Text] [Question] Your visit to Warsaw marks the continuation of collaboration between the SDP caucus in the German Bundestag and the PZPR Sejm Deputies Club. How do you appraise the course of the hitherto existing collaboration and its importance for the development of relations of this type?

[Answer] The tradition of these visits goes back to 1971, when Herbert Wehner, as chairman of the SPD caucus arrived for the first time in Warsaw. It has been followed by a series of visits and return visits, which were interrupted for well-known reasons in 1980-1981. Last year, Mr Barcikowski came to Bonn at my invitation, and now I am here, for the first time, as the successor of Herbert Wehner.

I feel sure that this visit will bear definite results. The first one is connected with the very fact of my being in Warsaw, which means a resumption of the exchange of visits. This alone I am sure is of political significance. Moreover, we have been considering in the course of this visit the proposals for the development of our collaboration, for example, by the creation of a working group composed of representatives of both sides, which would work out practical proposals concerning confidence building measures. These proposals must help in finding a platform of confidence between the two alliances.

[Question] How do you assess the significance of the agreement on principles of normalization of relations between Poland and the Federal Republic of Germany?

[Answer] This agreement is the basis for the process of mutual understanding and the foundation for further development of our relations. This is one of the two essential points of the agreement. The second essential point of the agreement is the inviolability of boundaries and the statement that neither of the parties will raise any territorial claims with respect to the other.

I think that the further development of our relations has at present become possible after the attenuation of internal tensions in Poland, especially after the declaration of amnesty. Also of special importance at present is collaboration in the economic field, for the exchange of goods has declined in recent years below the 1979 level. Furthermore, I consider that we should strengthen partner-like cooperation between cities. This is a good way to tighten mutual relations. In the course of our talks we learned that the Polish side is interested in brightening up cultural exchange. This tallies with our ideas.

Thus, as I said before, we are faced with the problems of international politics and of ensuring peace. Each of the parties, while respecting the membership of the other party in another alliance, should at present, during the heightened tension in international relations, act in support of the initiation of serious dialogue by the superpowers in the matter of desistance from the armaments race and the consolidation of peace.

[Question] How do you assess the real prospects of the further development and improvement of relations between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany?

[Answer] I am not without optimism. It is true that within the larger governing party in the union can be heard voices that are not helpful in this respect and that create problems concerning matters that were settled once and for all by the signing of an agreement in the 1970's, but the concern about this must not be generalized. Likewise, within the union there are people who unequivocally are for the continuation of the agreement. FRG President von Weizsacker is not alone among them. I also hope that the forthcoming visit of Foreign Affairs Minister Genscher, who in this matter represents a univocal viewpoint, will make this issue clearer.

[Question] In your opinion, to what extent do the relations between our two countries depend on the international situation? And another question connected with this: how do you view the prospects of improvement of the international situation?

[Answer] Polish-West German relations are not, naturally, independent of the relations between the superpowers and the two groupings. The agreement (on principles of normalization of relations--note by M.W.) came into being at a time when both superpowers were carrying out the policy of reasonable coexistence and when there existed between them consensus in matters of definite proceedings, which was confirmed in 1972 in Vladivostok. A number of reasons, as to which we are partly of a different opinion, later created a phase of coldness and tension. Personally, I am of the opinion that at present we will have new attempts at the renewal of talks between the superpowers. A good sign is the fact that the rhetoric of both superpowers is already milder and more intelligible. The Europeans in both alliances must on their part contribute to this.

[Question] The SPD put forward the conception of "partnership in security." Do you think that this conception has already met with a response in the international arena?

[Answer] The idea of "partnership in security" is based on the conviction that in the era of atomic weapons both systems of alliances cannot survive if they act against each other, only if they coexist. In the face of the terrific destructive power of the already accumulated weapons arsenals it is unthinkable that a nuclear war would bring victory and benefits to anyone. A confrontation with the use of nuclear weapons would be catastrophic not only to both systems but most probably to all of mankind. The awareness of this fact is growing.

Some time must still elapse before that which was conceived by us in the form of specific proposals has a still stronger repercussion in the real politics. But this is already noticeable, for example, in the Scandinavian countries and in the Benelux countries. I have the impression that in the countries of Eastern Europe this type of idea is also receiving ever greater attention.

1015

CSO: 2600/198

INTERDEPENDENCE OF 'ACCORD', 'UNDERSTANDING' EXPLAINED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 10, Oct 84 pp 135, 136

[Article by Marian Dobrosielski: "Concerning 'Accord' and 'Understanding'"]

[Text] A discussion on "accord and understanding" is necessary, even indispensable. The NOWE DROGI editorial board was right to initiate it, in my view most successfully. Understanding is, after all, and should remain the basis of accord. Full and clear understanding of our internal and foreign situation and its multiple complexities and conditioning factors is a necessary premise for preparing and formulating a working program which will not only be accepted but also implemented by the overwhelming majority of our society. (Let us leave the "obsessed" and the intransigents to their own devices, since no rational arguments will ever convince them; after all they do not think, they know.)

How wonderful that the discussion has been initiated by some reflections by Aleksander Bochenski (No 8, 1984). One can agree with them or not, but no one can doubt their authenticity and independence. These reflections, mostly presented in a clear, simple, and unambiguous manner, also provide precious pointers for arguments of future polemicists. Some of these reflections, however--perhaps because of their succinctness--are not formulated precisely enough and require explanations, while some of them even give rise to serious doubts. I would like in particular to draw attention to one of them, concerning civic education and the teaching of history. Before dealing with it, I would like to point out that I agree with most of Alexander Bochenski's remarks. In particular, I share his remarks on propaganda policy, as well as on the role of professors in government.

I am neither an pedagogue nor a historian. I think, however, that Bochenski's statement that the history teaching program, as he puts it, "...suggests the abandonment of 'polonocentrism,' that is to say, stressing above all the affairs of ancient Poland and the judgment of facts depending on whether or not they have affected our destiny, in favor of anthropocentrism, that is to say, history of the human race rather than that of Poland," is based on a misunderstanding. I hope qualified experts will voice their opinion on the matter. But my impression is that the contrary is the case.

Both the teaching programs and our propaganda, that is to say extra-curricular "civic education," are excessively "polonocentric." Bochenski is right that there have been, and still are, people in Poland who--consciously or unconsciously--have been and are aiming at provoking repugnance and disdain for our history, but that has happened and still happens outside the schools, mostly in political writing, in films, and in literature. Recently Jerzy R. Nowak dealt with the problem interestingly in his article "The Stanczyks Have Massed for Attack" [ZDANIE Nos 7-8, 1984].

Irrespective of whether we agree with Bochenski in this respect or not, he has raised an exceptionally essential, perhaps even the most essential issue for the cause of understanding and accord: the issue of appropriate approach to our history and tradition, and of the contemporary Polish approach to patriotism. I think that the historians' congress will provide us with interesting stuff in the matter. I would suggest that NOWE DROGI convene an editorial panel composed of historians, sociologists, philosophers, and politicians, to discuss the subject "Tradition and patriotism in contemporary Poland."

12485

CSO: 2600/267

HARDLINE POLICY URGED AGAINST DISSIDENTS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Nov 84 pp 3, 4

[Article by Jan Ruzsyczyc]

[Text] What is the most important thing to come out of the 17th Plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party? Most of all, unmistakably, the plenum confirms the continuity of the renewal program advanced by the Ninth Congress. This has found confirmation and development in reference to the fundamental problem in the nation today: the problem of securing the state.

The party has stated clearly: we want to strengthen the state as a way of developing democratic institutions and encouraging the wider participation of citizens in performing their duties and effectively controlling their activities; we want to achieve this by consolidating the state's class character as an instrument of expression and initiation in the life of working people's socialist ideals.

These are not just intentions. They are facts created by party actions and those of its allies. They are our positive response to everything that was fundamental and constructive during the workers' protests in 1980. They are a consequence of the proposals put forward during the protests to find the best ways to resolve the state's problems. Renewal, democratization and law and order--these are the conceptions that have materialized today in the country. These are conceptions around which the war against powers destructive to the state will not diminish. They are in our common interest.

Precisely because the actions of antisocialist forces on social consciousness will not remain without a trace, it is particularly important to affirm the fact that the socialist way of renewal and national understanding is the only way, that in spite of all the obstacles and difficulties, we are going forward and nobody will remove us from our way. Renewal and democratization are processes that remain and need constant perfecting. We have to realize that much already has been accomplished and that the process begun 4 years ago is irreversible.

Evaluations of the accomplishments of the 17th Plenum indicate that the range of socialist democracy is expanding. The position of the political system and of the Sejm has increased. The coalition sharing authority has been enriched and its social base broadened. New legal regulations have increased the

authority and possibilities of activity within the people's councils and self-government--the broadest form of citizens' participation in governing activities. More and more there are two primary areas of workers' democracy: the unions and self-government. The role of local, agricultural and cooperative self-government has increased. Have we noticed the great potential of activity within the thousands of different associations that together comprise 18 million members?

As a result of the party's initiative, there has been a greater use of the democratic mechanism of social consultation to make decisions and to propose solutions. This approach has been used more than once in the recent past. As regards the implementation of resolutions passed by the 16th Plenum, more than 250 million workers from large plants participated in the discussions. These discussions are part of the social system to oversee the actions of the authorities and the administration.

An important element in the oversight of the state apparatus will be the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate. As we already have written in TRYBUNA LUDU, many provinces have called an inspection group to assess its usefulness. The experience has shown that the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate could become the next instrument to provide increased citizens' influence over the administration and economic activity. The group will apply in its daily activity the point of view, opinion and judgment of workers and farmers. It is intended to give it a wide area of competence and the right to recommend inspections to other specialized elements. Frequently the groups have intervened when stores have been short of goods and exposed irregularities in construction sites.

These examples, which can be multiplied, confirm that the direction of changes laid out by the Ninth Congress is the beginning of citizens' self-government activity and increased workers' influence on state functioning.

And how is this to be compared to another important problem discussed at the 17th Plenum: compliance with the law and law and order? Also in this area are changes in social control and citizens' activities. Care for law and order--this is the responsibility of state organs. The strengthening of law and order requires that activity be constantly submitted to evaluation and opinion by the Sejm and the people's councils. The Sejm's Commission on Internal Affairs and Justice is an important part of parliamentary initiative and control, similar to the legal commission on law and order in the people's councils.

Law and order is a matter common to the authorities and the widest sphere of the citizenry. Can we think otherwise about the recent period of growing criminal and economic transgressions? Can we think differently as regards the broad support among the citizenry to uproot negative tendencies that are the legacy of the sad period of social upheaval and antistate activity?

The experiences of the last few years prove that society is mature with respect to the threats that have occurred. In spite of the differences that have divided Poles, there still predominates a feeling of nationalistic pride and civic responsibility. Respect for the reality of socialist Poland is stronger than lies, political scheming, hatred and fanaticism. The awareness of the

working people was the barrier breaking the strengths of anarchy and destruction threatening the country. This realism and awareness by the workers have caused them to turn away from the rioters and strikers and to discard the notion of slow-downs.

As stated by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 17th Plenum, the process threatening our state existence has been defeated by sovereign decisions and our own strengths: "This cannot be if a majority of the working people do not identify themselves with the people's state and do not see more crucial, overall national values. This is our common capital for today and tomorrow."

The majority of Poles today want social peace, normalization and a more efficient overcoming of difficulties in everyday life. This brings emotions to a halt and immunizes against provocative whispers and inspirations. The advocates of anarchy and lawlessness cannot come to terms with this natural goal toward normalization. They know that the stabilization process rules out their chances of coming again to the top of social life and makes it difficult to realize their goal, which is to maintain confusion and to destabilize the state. The enemies of stabilization know that all progress toward a renewal of the socialist program demonstrates even more that they do not have a program and only want to destroy. This is why they feverishly take every opportunity to destroy the renewal, make stabilization difficult and keep up the confusion.

Not even the most dirty opportunity is bad for them. This is why they have given their support during interviews with Western journalists to the Reagan administration's sanctions against Poland and why they keep in touch with revisionists in West Germany, who question the untouchable borders on the Oder, Neisse and Baltic. Recently, Jan Jozef Lipski, formerly active in KOR, accused the government of supposedly abusing the argument of, as he put it, the "German danger." He said this during a period when revisionist groups in West Germany are planning for next year a campaign called "Forty Years of Expulsion."

The opposition fraternizes with Poland's enemies in the West to barter Poland's interests; this is a modern version of the confederation at Targowica, which the nation judges very harshly. Lately as a springboard for further antistate activities, several well-known persons from the opposition took to the matter of the kidnapping and murdering of the priest, Father Jerzy Popieluszko. They wish to use his death, for which we strongly condemn the perpetrators, in their provocative game. They did everything in their power to use Father Popieluszko's funeral as a reason for antistate demonstrations. They wanted to use the church as a seat of political action. And this provocation was not enough.

The organizers of these hostile actions still attempt to use this death, portraying themselves as "protectors of law and order," to slander the organs of public order. Then there is the succeeding action to disorient the naive. The Ministry of Internal Affairs has worked with great energy to seek the truth since the moment of Father Popieluszko's kidnapping. The actions of the ministry have led to the arrest of the suspects. The investigation still goes on and will expose the perpetrators. The Western press, which is far from friendly, has agreed with this.

In spite of these facts, the organizers of antistate actions have never stopped their dirty political game. Small groups are publishing leaflets that say that "the Interior Ministry still has people who protect banditism"; they libel the state and its organs of law and order; they maintain that their actions are well known in the West; they do not hesitate to make the country repugnant in the world's view; they really want to disrupt the social peace needed so much by the country.

Former KOR member and extremist Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz again is giving interviews and press conferences in which he praises existing actions and announces new propaganda actions similar to those in which he took part and for which he was jailed. In one interview, Onyszkiewicz stated: "We could make a lot of trouble, but the state only would use this against us and it could be very dangerous for us." How arrogant and selfish is that statement! And how can we justify an educator like this in a state university?

Activities resume supposedly in "defense of law and order" but in reality are breaking the law. We have observed in the last few days attempts to bring life to the old and to create new illegal organizations. These are again by the same people who have belonged to KOR, KPN and other antistate organizations. These are people of different political views bound together to suppress the stabilization process. As we know, the objective of every destabilization is to increase the occurrence of social pathology. We remember this very well.

Through different methods, through the use of old and new slogans and through the use of people's feelings, the political players from KOR and KPN want to achieve their goal no matter what the price: to restore social tension, stop the normalization process and build a new threat. This activity is not only against the state but also against society. This is why they must be stopped. Nobody will disrupt the realization of social understanding.

9807

CSO: 2600/227

POLAND

JABLONSKI ADDRESSES 'POLONIA' CONGRESS

LD201917 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 19 Dec 84

[Text] The congress of the "Polonia" association, which maintains links with Poles living abroad, has met in Warsaw. Henryk Jablonski, Jozef Czyrek, Hieronim Kubiak, Stefan Olszowski, Edward Kowalczyk, Jozef Kukulka, and certain ministers attended the conference.

Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, chairman of the association and deputy chairman of the Council of State, stressed that the supreme criterion for our cooperation with Poles living abroad is their attitude toward Polish culture, national traditions, and understanding of Polish "raison d'etat." We are open to contacts with all those who feel their links with Polish culture and wish to give concrete expression to them.

Henryk Jablonski stressed in his speech that the bridges created between the country and the Poles abroad have withstood the difficult trials connected with the socio-political crisis in Poland. Henryk Jablonski and Stefan Olszowski decorated deserving activists of the association with state awards. The banner of the "Polonia" association was decorated with the Commander's Cross of the Order of Polonia Restituta.

CSO: 2600/369

MINISTER OF TRANSPORTATION DEFENDS PRICE INCREASES

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Nov 84 pp 1, 5

[PAP report: "Groundless Anxiety"]

[Text] The government has recently received several protests from trade union organizations against increased fares on the Polish State Railways [PKP] and Polish Motor Transportation [PKS]. Such protests were filed, among others, by the "Metalowcy" Federation of Factory Trade-Union Organizations of Metal Industry Workers; the Council of the Federation of Chemical Industry Trade Unions; and by the chairmen of: the Federation of the Trade Unions of Metallurgists, the Independent Self-governing Trade Union [NSZZ] of workers of Teletra, the Petrochemia Trade Union Federation, and the Factory Committee of the Cegielski Works NSZZ. In this connection, the minister of transportation replies:

The position taken by the trade unions is understandable. Their concern about the interests of the working people is actually what the trade unions are there for. However, the reasoning the authors employ is hardly justifiable.

The central objection in these protests is that the prices had been raised without public consultations. This claim is not correct, since the plans to increase the price for PKP and PKS tickets were openly discussed in the fall of 1982. At that time, we presented the unusually difficult financial situation in the public transportation ministry. We made no secret of the rapidly widening gap between what the passengers expected of PKP and PKS in terms of comfort and quality of service and our capability to meet such demands. Shortages of people willing to work for the railroads and the PKS due to low salaries; the disintegrating fleet, partly because of vandalism by the passengers; the continuously growing cost of repairs; the high prices for new railroad cars and buses--all this makes it necessary to build up adequate financial resources. We reported that, in order to make our services profitable, the prices would have to be increased by more than 400 percent. Realizing, however, that this is quite impossible, we had proposed a plan aimed only at reducing the deficit of operating public transportation in this country. We indicated that this could be achieved either by a single considerable raise or by consecutive gradual fare increases.

A definite majority was then for the second option, that of spreading the raise over several years. In accordance with the results of this discussion, the fares were first changed on 1 January 1983, with the second change planned for January of next year. However, that plan had been put on hold because, as the tentative estimation indicated, it could happen that in conjunction with raised prices for some food articles and manufactured goods which had to be introduced this year, the increase of prices for the railroad and bus tickets would cause the upper limit for raising prices allowed by the Central Annual Plan to be exceeded.

Thus, our decision was made only now, when it is certainly known that this limit will not be surpassed. And I would like to stress again that the decision had been adopted earlier in the consultations on the ways for prices to be changed and is based on the fact of approval of the Central Annual Plan, which determines the general level of prices, which, as I am glad to assure our readers, will not be exceeded this year. Thus, the statement by the chairman of the Teletra workers NSZZ in Poznan that this decision will cause the increase in the cost of living to go over the limit approved for this year is not correct.

I would like also to add that the effect of this price increase on family budgets in the next year has been included in the outlines of the 1985 Central Annual Plan as an element in the balance of people's incomes and expenditures. Therefore, the statement by the "Metalowcy" federation that "the labor unions and the public were again surprised by the price increase decision" does not hold water.

Also far from correct is their statement that the increase of prices for tickets has contributed to the intensification of inflation. The situation is quite the opposite: it is the very existence of large subsidies from the state budget, the budget that has a deficit, i.e., makes up for a part of its subsidies by newly-issued money without backing, that makes inflation worse.

The belief that by freezing prices at some point we can improve living conditions in Poland is illusory. As long as the economy is not balanced, price increases will be necessary. I believe that members of trade unions perfectly understand this in relation to the branches that they represent. As the cost of operating a factory goes up, its administration tries to compensate by raising prices on manufactured goods or provided services, which is not being protested by any social and political organizations, including trade unions, that operate in the area.

Yet if such a necessity is to be considered by a branch of industry or an enterprise that manufactures goods or provides services of general use, then voices of protest begin to prevail over understanding, while in each of these cases the necessity of making an unpopular and ugly decision is caused by the same economic laws that require costs to be covered by returns.

At present, the transportation (public transportation) sector shows a 133 billion zloty deficit, of which 68 billion zlotys have been accumulated by the railroad and over 10 billion zlotys by the PKS. In the next year, this deficit is only bound to grow. The budget subsidies to PKP and PKS alone will reach 95 billion zlotys, but if the prices for passenger tickets were not raised this figure would have to go up to 120 billion zlotys. Thus, it seems only fair for the cost of transportation to be covered to a greater extent by travelers themselves, rather than by the whole society. This consideration underlies the decision to increase railroad and PKS bus fares.

The government understands the anxiety and the concerns of the trade unions about maintaining, and eventually raising, the standard of living of the working people. Government representatives have met with trade unions to discuss this subject several times (most recently on 7 November during a session of the Council of Ministers Committee on Trade Union Affairs with participation of chairmen of nationwide trade union organizations). As a result of these discussions, the Planning Commission prepared and presented to the Council of Ministers outlines of provisions that would take into account the necessity of alleviating the consequences of this year's price increases, while developing the wage and social policies of the state for 1985. Thus, in this respect, too, the fear that increased transportation fares would lower the standard of living is unfounded.

I hope that the reasons that I have presented here will be accepted by most of the public.

12621

CSO: 2600/226

URBAN DISCUSSES MURDER INVESTIGATION, RELATIONS WITH WEST

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Nov 84 pp 4, 5

[Report on press conference for foreign journalists by Jerzy Urban]

[Excerpts] [N. Vita, AP] Can you provide any information on the results of the autopsy of the body of Father Popieluszko?

[Jerzy Urban] I cannot, because the final results of the autopsy of the deceased are still not available. I know that you will be surprised, but this analysis is still under way. Professor Byrdy addressed some questions to the frogmen. In connection with that, the frogmen who retrieved the body were debriefed yesterday. They were asked whether Father Popieluszko had a gag in his mouth. The issue is whether the air had access to his lungs or not. Only now is the protocol of this debriefing being sent to Bialystok, where the investigation is under way. Perhaps the commission in charge of the dissection of the body will be able to make a final decision on the basis of this protocol. I would like to make the following comment on this. I am not a specialist in that field and I do not understand why this is taking so long. However, this extensive delay, which is perhaps unprecedented, is due to one issue alone: whether Father Popieluszko was or was not alive when he was dumped into the water. Only this is unclear; however, before it is solved the commission in charge of the autopsy cannot arrive at a final and comprehensive opinion. This has to do with the issue of an unnatural situation as to the access of the air and water to the lungs. As of now, this is the only circumstance which has not been cleared, and from the point of view of the investigation this is not of essential importance in determining the responsibility of the perpetrators.

What else can I say beyond the autopsy issue? Witnesses have been questioned in order to check the truthfulness of the testimony given by the accused. For example, the latter have stated that during that trip they had their car repaired and pointed out the garage where they did it. This has been confirmed by the garage, and the accused have been identified. The accused have stated that they bought oil at a filling station. It has also been confirmed that they indeed bought it, and they were identified. The accused have said that they visited the Provincial Office in Bydgoszcz.* Due to this,

* The Provincial Office of Internal Affairs is meant here.

witnesses were sought there, and it checked out that they were telling the truth. Indeed, they visited the Provincial Office in Bydgoszcz. By the way, the purpose of this visit was to gain the opportunity to gas up the car. I have already mentioned that they were stopped at a roadblock when they were driving with Father Popieluszko in the trunk. It turns out that when they were returning to Warsaw after committing the murder, about 3 am, they were also stopped at another roadblock in Warsaw for the second time. In connection with this, the traffic control officers were found and questioned, and they confirmed this. All of that took place in the vicinity of the Lazienki highway. A stake, or stick, which, as the accused stated, they beat Father Popieluszko with, has been found. Due to this the Bureau of Criminal Investigation is studying this stick, on top of other things, and looking for some microtraces on it.

Possible instigators of the murder are still being sought, and this is a vigorous search. Investigative authorities, both the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the prosecutor's office, are resolved to conduct the investigation for as long as it takes to uncover all the direct and indirect circumstances related to this murder. Another preoccupation of the investigative authorities is to check all of Piotrowski's contacts and those of his accomplices, all their acquaintances, everything in their background and way of life which could yield a lead. This is, of course, a long-range and painstaking inquiry.

The detained Pietruszka has appealed his temporary arrest. He claims that he is innocent. No judgment has been handed down in the matter.

I would like to bring up one more interesting detail which has been confirmed. Specifically, as you will remember, Father Popieluszko's chauffer, Chrostowski, was handcuffed the moment he was ordered and dragged by the kidnappers into the car which was used in the abduction of Father Popieluszko and Chrostowski. On top of that, he was gagged. It turns out that these handcuffs were sawed through, and this is the secret of how he was able to jump out and escape. The handcuffs have teeth which clamp together, and these teeth, that is one of the teeth, had been sawed through, so that he was handcuffed as if symbolically, in such a way that he could free himself. This once again calls for verifying the truthfulness of Chrostowski's testimony. It is still an intriguing question: how was it possible for him to jump out of the car, since the car has been confirmed as traveling at 100 kilometers per hour. A new investigative experiment has been scheduled. There has already been one on the highway. Another experiment with a dummy is needed to recreate this situation. In any event, the investigation is and will be carried out with the utmost resolve, in order to establish all facts and all circumstances, regardless of what they show and what their message might be.

[David Storey, REUTERS] Since the captain and two lieutenants have admitted their guilt, according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, are there any indications as to the time or the date of trial?

[Jerzy Urban] No, the question is very premature.

[Renata Marsch] Mr Minister, you said that many people called for disturbances, especially those who have been amnestied. Would you care to tell us who they are, because a majority, for example Lech Walesa, said the opposite, calling for peace.

[Jerzy Urban] I did not talk about the calls for disturbances, though there were such calls. I talked about undertaking actions aimed at creating disturbances in Poland, about provoking such events, about political activities aimed at recreating the situation of 1981.

[Mr Kaufman, NEW YORK TIMES] Could you tell us precisely when and where the three suspects were arrested? After that, I would like to ask one more question.

[Jerzy Urban] I cannot answer this question precisely, because I do not have the information needed. It happened more or less 3 days after the kidnapping. They were arrested in Warsaw, at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, where they worked. That is to say, I would not know whether this was at home or in the office, but their status at the time was such that normally they would work in the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

[Mr Kaufman, NEW YORK TIMES] Now for a different matter. Could you tell us what the status of Bogdan Lis is at the moment? Have charges against him been filed or will they be?

[Jerzy Urban] The investigation is still in progress.

[Bradley Graham, WASHINGTON POST] Mr Minister, would you agree with the view that, beyond bringing the direct perpetrators of the crime to justice, the party and the authorities will have to pay a political price for this crime, for this felony?

[Jerzy Urban] I do not want to go along with your wording. However, we said immediately that this event strikes a blow at the party, at the authorities, and is a very unfavorable event for us politically. Therefore, a political price associated with powerful interference in the positive processes which I mentioned is to be reckoned with. However, I do not understand what you meant, so I would ask you to be more precise.

[Mr Sohne, ARD] Last week, you told us that one of the accused owned two expensive cars and a hard currency account. Has the origin of money in this account been determined since?

[Jerzy Urban] No, not yet.

[Mr Jorg Bremer, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG] Do you think that in the future it will be possible or there will be a need to provide bodyguards for high-ranking members of the authorities or, by the same token, for Catholic Church hierarchy? In light of the present situation, do you personally feel safe when members of the security apparatus kidnap priests?

[Jerzy Urban] We are entirely resolved not to become a country where anyone's safety is in jeopardy, as is the case in many Western countries. I hope that government offices will never be as protected as I have seen when I paid a visit to my colleague in Madrid, having to pass through barbed wire roadblocks and squads of commandos. In a word, Poland will not turn into a country of lawlessness. I think that the lesson to be learned from the tragic death of Father Popieluszko will still more facilitate the further preservation of Poland as a safe country. This event was an exceptional one.

[Renata Marsch, DPA] According to which regulations is it forbidden to set up civic committees?

[Jerzy Urban] The consent of the authorities is required to set up an organization.

[Hella Pick, THE GUARDIAN] I would like to return to the previous question. You have just mentioned the measures to be undertaken against the organizers of these committees. Could you say precisely what type of means are contemplated and whether the detention of these persons, among other things, is to be reckoned with? Secondly, could you take a concrete stand on the declaration made yesterday by the Warsaw group of this kind?

[Jerzy Urban] As to the means to be used, I have nothing to say at this moment. It can be expected that in any event such means will be an appropriate legal response to every violation of the law. That is to say: depending on what the committees do and how the law qualifies what they do, appropriate legal consequences will ensue.

I responded concretely to the declaration mentioned a moment ago.

[Mr Sobieraj, Polish TV News] I will have to change the subject once again, Mr Minister. I would like to ask a question on the current status of Polish-French relations. I would ask you to describe it.

[Jerzy Urban] It follows from the statement of the head of French foreign policy in the National Assembly that France does not intend to establish more meaningful contacts with Poland. It is thought there that even without such contacts they in Paris have an excellent idea of how domestic relations in Poland should be arranged and they would be happy to rearrange them to their liking. Instead of a dialogue with Poland, the French Government is involved in monologizing on Polish topics. Apparently, France is not interested in preserving its traditional position in Poland, which is based on history. This is a policy the point of which we do not understand, especially against the background of widening contacts between Poland and West European countries other than France. It is exactly these contacts which make the position of France increasingly distinct, and this creates a new situation in relations between Poland and France. This new situation prompts us to look at Polish-French relations in a different way.

The cooperation between Poland and France proceeded favorably and developed dynamically in the 1970's, though at the time there was no more democracy in Poland than there is today, there were no more reforms. Nor were there many other things which the present French Government, as it says, would like to install in Poland. Somehow, this did not get in the way of the French authorities then. In the 1970's, within the framework of these good relations, there were also agreements which did not work out for Poland, for example, the Berliet agreement. The altogether still good cooperation of that time created prerequisites for widespread instruction in the French language in Polish schools, as the language was needed for political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural contacts. As a result of these achievements of the 1970's, at present 74,000 high school students, or 22 percent of the total, study French. An extended program of French language is offered in 195 classes in 77 high schools. Forty-one thousand students of vocational schools are studying French. We have seven high schools in Poland where instruction in various subjects is conducted exclusively in French. The French language rose to such a position precisely in the 1970's. Earlier, this was not the case.

The beautiful French language is no longer a world language of today. The most prominent works of French literature have been translated into Polish by, among others, masters of the caliber of Boy. A Pole can, therefore, acquaint himself with the cultural heritage of France without limitations in Polish alone. The prominent position of the French language and its widespread studies were only justified by the then existing status of cooperation between Poland and France. Now we are registering a decline in mutual relations in all fields. For example, over the past years the foreign trade turnover decreased by 38 percent. Scientific and technical exchanges have also gone down. Police, the standard-bearing investment project created in Poland for the needs of agriculture and for better nourishment of the populace, has been abandoned by the French specialists. The Polish Government will examine whether instruction in French on the existing scale is necessary, since this is not a world language anymore, but a language useful in cooperation between Poland and France, which is constantly withering.

[DAILY TELEGRAPH] Last week, you told us that it can be thought on the basis of some circumstantial evidence that the murderers of Father Popieluszko may not have acted deliberately, but just attempted and tried to scare him. Today, you mentioned the sawed-through handcuffs and newly discovered circumstances. In doing so, are you not suggesting... Do you indeed think that they are in a condition to stand trial, to accept responsibility, and are you not by any chance preparing the public opinion for a verdict in this case which would not be commensurate with the scale of the crime?

[Jerzy Urban] Your suspicions are absolutely absurd. The fact that I turn here to different threads which later on do not continue in a cohesive fashion is a result of the open information policy. I am simply talking about what the investigation reveals at a given moment. It is natural for an investigation to yield various threads and hypotheses, which can only be merged into a cohesive entity when the investigation is over. It is natural

that the perpetrators of the crime defend themselves even now, for example, by saying that they kidnapped without intent to kill, which came about under the influence of circumstances. However, the very fact of premeditated murder is beyond doubt and there are absolutely no intentions on the part of any of the competent authorities to mitigate the legal situation of the assassins in any way.

I said earlier that in principle they can already stand trial and at the same time I announced today that the investigation is not going to be at all fast and that it is premature to talk about the trial date. There is no contradiction here just as well. If it were not for the scope and prominence of the case and its dimension as a political provocation, if it were not for the desire and the need to uncover all the circumstances, then in a regular criminal case of murder there would be enough evidence in order for the case to be sent to trial and a sentence to be handed down. In this case, however, it is the intention of the investigating authorities, both the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the prosecutor's office, to learn about a wide range of circumstances in order to confirm or rule out the fact that this was a political provocation, that someone stood behind it and his identity.

[Hella Pick, THE GUARDIAN] You have said that all the contacts, families and friends of the accused are being investigated. Can you tell us about the course and the findings of the investigation and whether the investigation has proceeded toward their political contacts with their political friends or their superiors?

[Jerzy Urban] It follows from the information made available to us that their links with their colleagues at work are being looked into. After all, one of their superiors has been arrested, and in the case of yet another official the plan to arrest him, though it existed, did not gain the prosecutor's approval. However, the in-house investigation is under way. One does not need great acumen in order to conjecture on the basis of this that their contacts of all kinds and of every nature are being thoroughly investigated.

[Mr Lopuszanski, INTERPRESS] Mr Minister, I would like to change the topic a little. In light of the visit by Minister Rifkind from Great Britain, can it be anticipated that in the future, in case of visits by other Western statesmen, the state authorities will allow them contact with representatives of the opposition in Poland?

[Jerzy Urban] Official visits by the guests of the Polish authorities must proceed according to the mutually agreed-upon schedule. It is simply not a custom to have meetings with illegal bodies either within or outside the framework of the program, it is not customary in interstate or interparty as well as interparliamentary contacts. We will not go along with that. If a representative of the Polish Government travels to Great Britain, he also will not request to acquaint himself with the situation in Ireland by meeting representatives of, say the IRA.

[Mr Kaufman, NEW YORK TIMES] A moment ago you said that relations with France seem to be deteriorating, whereas relations with other West European countries are improving and developing. At the same time, a week ago you made some critical remarks about Minister Rifkind's visit, and even before that you voiced reservations about some pronouncements by Prime Minister Craxi. In light of this, could you name the West European countries relations with which are indeed improving, in your view?

[Jerzy Urban] To a different degree, relations with almost all of them, except for France, are improving. This process has advanced to various stages. Of course, our relations with Greece, Austria and Finland have advanced to a higher level than those with Great Britain. The improvement of relations does not rule out critical remarks on certain circumstances of some visits. What I have said about the general bad condition of relations as far as Western Europe is concerned refers only to France.

[Renate Marsch, DPA] I would suggest yet another topic, As you know, there are various citizens of the GDR and two Polish citizens in the embassy of the FRG. You told us several days ago that this issue was being settled. What can the Polish Government do and what does it intend to do with regard to this case?

[Jerzy Urban] The Polish Government is not doing anything about that case and has no intention of doing anything. Nobody has approached us in the matter and we are not concerned with who the ambassador of the FRG offers his hospitality to. However, in general terms, we think that nothing will be achieved in the way of blackmail and coercion.

[Ms Hella Pick, THE GUARDIAN] Mr Minister, could you confirm or deny that certain preliminary conditions were advanced in the matter of visits by certain American senators or congressmen? Specifically, what is meant is will the visas be granted only on the condition that they assume the obligation not to meet with certain personalities?

[Jerzy Urban] I cannot say anything on that topic, because the procedure calls for the visa applicant to state the purpose of his visit, as long as it is not a private or a tourist visit. This is the case in relations among all states. The party granting the visa may issue it or not. It is different with regard to official visits, when programs are agreed upon. I am simply not aware of any concrete case of this kind. Therefore, this is an answer in general terms.

I have a couple more issues to cover. Firstly, I would like to respond to a question which was phoned in that the reports in the Western, especially Italian press on the letter from Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski concerning the murder of Father Popieluszko, supposedly received by the pope, are not true. This information or, rather, misinformation, because it is a fabrication, has made the rounds in the Western press.

This is one issue. Furthermore, I would like to say that we received with surprise the airing by the BBC of an extensive interview with Adam Michnik

on the situation in Poland. This is how the headline sounded. Why? First, because Western radio stations which broadcast in Polish, all of them, after all this is the custom in the world, should be involved in propagating their native country, should be interested in the sphere of relations between our two countries, whereas it is not their mission to practice politics in Poland, to get involved in domestic Polish affairs. It is even more outrageous when this assumes the character of aggression, incitement and troublemaking. In the past, I compared the BBC favorably to Radio Free Europe or Voice of America. However, from time to time such publications of this Polish-language radio station are disseminated which prompt us to reconsider this view and also call it a subversive radio station. This interview includes the endorsement of the U.S. sanctions; this interview contains the statement that only violations of the law, for example, the setting up of the committees which were indeed organized, leads to understanding. This interview attempts to undermine the confidence of Polish society in the investigation of the Father Popieluszko case. Finally, the interview includes statements offensive to General Jaruzelski, specifically, that he brought up the officers of the Security Service in the spirit of being allowed to murder with impunity. Also, this interview contains some statements referring to me, for example: "After the embittering article by Mr Rem (this is Jerzy Urban's pen name) appeared, when we talked with our friends under the impression of this article several weeks ago, there was only irony, disgust for the author of this text. None of us was imaginative enough to see even in that context the presage of murder. I think now that had I been more imaginative, had I publicly accused Mr Urban of encouraging murder, then maybe I would have been sentenced for offending the minister, but maybe Father Jerzy would be alive today"--this is how Michnik puts it.

I quoted this because we must consider whether our liberalism is not going too far if a representative of the BBC, the institution which maintains a Polish section involved in broadcasting such texts, is accredited in Poland. Perhaps I would also ask the management of INTERPRESS to consider whether Mr Kevin Ruane of the BBC should take part in press conferences with the person who his radio station calls "the instigator of murder."

One more item. On behalf of the Polish Government, I protest vigorously and resolutely the arrangements prevailing in France, which brought about the murder of the Turkish worker Orgun Kemal, who was shot by a plant security guard with the participation of the plant owner and his family. All that the worker wanted was to receive the back pay due him. We are outraged by the arrangements in France, which allow the employers and their lackeys to shoot at the workers as if they were animals. Along with the entire French left, we demand that arrangements in France in this sphere be changed.

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EDUCATION FACES NEW IDEOLOGICAL TASKS

Role of Educators

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 Dec 84 p 3

[Interview with Chairman of the PZPR Section of Party Pedagogues Jan Bogusz by Wieslaw Debski: "Education Is Most Important"]

[Text] The All-Polish Party Conference on Social Sciences will meet in Warsaw on 7-8 December. It will be dedicated to assessment of the state of these sciences as well as their present cadre and political situation. Specialists will discuss the prospects and tasks of their various social sciences, the most important directions for research and the connections between science and practice. This conference is intended to strengthen the authority of Marxist academic circles and increase their research.

On this, the last day before the start of the conference, we conclude our cycle of TRYBUNA LUDU interviews with the chairman of PZPR party sections: Jan Baszkiewicz of the political scientists' section, Jerzy Ladyka of the philosophers' section, Witold Sierpinski of the economists' section, Marian Leczyk of the historians' section, Wladyslaw Kwasniewicz of the sociologists' section and Sylwester Zawadzki of the lawyers' section.

Our final interview of this cycle was held with the chairman of the section of party pedagogues, Professor Jan Bogusz.

[Question] Comrade professor, the section that you chair recently assessed the achievements made by pedagogical sciences in the 40 years since the founding of the Polish People's Republic. How could you summarize those years?

[Answer] The achievements of the pedagogical sciences in the Polish People's Republic have been assessed and summarized many times. Therefore, please forgive me if my own appraisal is extremely brief or outright impertinent.

Looking over the last 40 years, we could generally say that the pedagogical

sciences have done well. They have made undeniable achievements. Both pedagogical thinking and the everyday practice of numerous pedagogues have made their contributions to the Polish People's Republic and have inspired the party's programs and educational policies. It would be no exaggeration to say that the pedagogical sciences contributed to the concepts of our nation's civilized development.

[Question] However we sometimes hear it said that the pedagogical sciences are regressing. Do you agree with this?

[Answer] Yes and no. The situation is too complex to evaluate it in such simple terms.

About 40 years ago, under the new social, economic and political conditions, Poland began the long process of creating a new type of man. The pedagogical sciences contributed much to this process. However, the pedagogues themselves often say that, aside from a few revolutionary periods, the disciplines that they represent have not stayed a step ahead of the educational needs of the family, schools, places of work and youth associations. In other words, I would like to say that the pedagogical sciences have, especially in recent years, too often escaped into not only theory but also into theorizing. Life and school life are another matter altogether. They do not always conform to theory.

[Question] Does this not apply as well to knowledge about the very object of education, youth?

[Answer] Not only teachers and practitioners but education theorists as well are pointing out a constant lack of information on the nature of the object of education and what changes it is undergoing.

Meanwhile, there are about 2000 research centers that are presently studying youth in Poland. They have a large cadre of workers and good funding. So far, however, there has been a lack of initiative in drawing any practically-useful conclusions from this research. Too often, we see deepened diagnoses of educational phenomena and processes and far too seldom is any effort made to conduct coordinated educational activities and valuable pedagogical experiments or to devise methods of teaching. Interpretations of occurring social processes and proposals of model educational processes are also superficial.

[Question] Our educational system needs new solutions and new pedagogical thinking. How are the pedagogical sciences going to meet these demands?

[Answer] Dissertations and pedagogical works written in Poland are some of the best academic work done anywhere. The definite majority of them, however, chiefly address what needs to be done in youth education. Meanwhile there is very little work being done on methods of looking any deeper into the nature of the youthful personality that could be used most effectively to arouse in students a passion for living. Almost no work has been done on ways to guide this passion in the complicated conditions of contemporary Polish society.

The education of the new man may not be effective without the help of schools, parents, places of work, youth associations and the army. It cannot produce the expected results unless a united educational front is formed. Education must also consider the class structure of our society. Now more than ever before, we clearly see that the education of our youth cannot be accomplished if it is detached from the ideological struggle taking place in our nation.

As we know, the resolution by the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was dedicated to the problems of youth. It pointed out the need for action to build a united educational front. The pedagogical sciences must therefore cooperate more strongly in the educational tasks most contiguous to the problems of socialist construction. Without ignoring theoretical, technical and practical problems, the social sciences will have to more consistently work to solve the moral problems with which we live today and deal with the conflicts and contradictions found in our social, political and ideological affairs.

To put it briefly, we can make the following conclusion: socialist pedagogical theory should serve to bring about positive teaching practices. Today, this is the most important of our important tasks.

I also feel that much must still be done to see that the pedagogical sciences take advantage of the achievements of Marxist philosophy and those mainstreams of the social sciences that deal with the Marxist concept of human development. Pedagogy's connection to philosophy, psychology, economics, sociology and the political sciences can do much to make it easier for youth to choose their road in life.

[Question] What role must and should be taken in this process by party scholars?

[Answer] In these hard times in which we have to live, party pedagogues must be more active and creative. This is our responsibility as citizens and party members. A broad offensive in Marxist thinking is becoming more and more necessary. This was strongly emphasized in a decree by the Central Committee's Thirteenth Plenum, which designated as especially important the "struggle to give Marxism-Leninism a dominant role in the mental life of the nation, to bring about socialist political, economic, historical and legal awareness and to encourage the education of youth."

[Question] This is where we agree. But what else? Where are the schools that train what could be called socialist teachers?

[Answer] The present state of the pedagogical sciences is particularly influenced by the uneven development of pedagogical cadres including both researchers and teachers. Among the research workers, there has developed a dangerous generation gap. As for teachers, there is a lack of good candidates.

Particular alarm has been aroused by the low social activity of teachers and a generalized lack of commitment to the socialist upbringing of youth. It must be openly said the educational and scientific authorities have to act against

the lack of concern that teachers and schools show for their responsibilities and it must take strong action to eliminate teaching practices that conflict with the principles of socialism. We must strengthen the party organizations in schools and places of higher education.

The advancement of pedagogical sciences must be contributed to not only by pedagogues but also by their organizers and leaders. We party pedagogues feel the need to mobilize the initiative and creative forces of teachers and the teaching community for the development of pedagogy and the renewal, I repeat, the renewal of teaching.

Discussion of pedagogical progress and hindrances to the development of the pedagogical sciences should also be encouraged now by the newly-created Party Pedagogue Section of the PZPR Central Committee's Department of Science and Education.

Direction of Social Sciences

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Dec 84 pp 1,2

[Article by mat: "For the Good of Man and the Growth of the State"]

[Text] (Own service). The two-day all-Polish conference of social sciences was concluded on Sunday, 8 December in Warsaw.

About 350 philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, pedagogues, political scientists and economists participated in the conference. They tried to assess the present state of the social sciences in Poland and underline the importance of Marxism-Leninism to these disciplines.

The shaping of social awareness, the civil behavior in the spirit of socialist humanism of the young generation in particular and a knowledge and understanding of processes in the life of societies, states and nations depend to a great extent on the development of the social and humanistic sciences. These are the sciences that study mankind and the struggle for his moral and social nature.

Discussion took place in the plenary sessions and problem sections. The first section concentrated on academic policy and basic directions of research. It was stated that socialism has given these sciences particular importance and rank because they form the theoretical basis for the building of a socialist society. A strengthening of the position of Marxism-Leninism in the social sciences is essential to Poland's socialist development. This will demand the stubborn work of Marxists, patience and tact in shaping interpersonal relations and the encouragement of cooperation with those who either do not oppose socialism or are vacillating. This goal must light the way for our academic policy.

The second section discussed the role of social sciences in the national educational system. The starting point for discussion was the statement that most youth accept socialist ideals and values. At the same time, however, the young generation's knowledge about social and economic processes is limited.

It has no understanding of the difficulties involved in economic development. The education of youth in the spirit of socialist ideals is one of the most important tasks of our national educational system. Regardless of the need for implementation of these tasks, those present at the discussion stated that the public has begun to think in more rational terms and better understand the needs of the nation and state. This is the result of such things as the growing national understanding, economic stabilization and reform, and the growth of democracy and therefore the increased participation of the public in the government and the direction of the state.

The third section stressed that a fair number of Polish scholars are involved in social sciences. However, the ideological and political level of the social sciences cadre is incommensurable with their qualifications and activity. This community suffered a deep ideological crisis after 1980. This situation has recently improved somewhat but many Marxists still do not have enough courage and conviction to deal with the ideological opposition. It was pointed out that this is the result of such factors as an incoherent and inconsistent cadre policy and the use of ambiguous criteria for selecting, assessing and advancing scholars. It is necessary for us to reconcile to Marxism the young scholars that the political opposition is fighting so bitterly to bring over to their own side.

The fourth section discussed the interrelationship between social sciences and social practice under the conditions of economic and governmental reform. It was said that social sciences have still not supplied enough precise and objective premises to bring about political, social and economic action. This has been found to be true despite the fact that there are many consultative sections, that many decision-makers have high academic degrees and that certain legal regulations require the use of social scientific advisors. There has been observed in political and economic activity a certain "resistance" to academic influence as well as a lack of innovation. A close bond between science and practice is very important to Poland's future.

Plenary discussion during both days of the conference contained much self-criticism. Concern for the proper fulfillment of the social sciences' responsibilities to the nation was very obvious. One of the weaknesses mentioned was the cause-and-effect nature of research. The essence of Marxism should be earnest analysis of social reality and creative inspiration of practice. Theory and practice must together form a harmonized whole and establish means and methods for achieving new goals under new conditions.

As Zdzislaw Cackowski stressed in his speech, bourgeois theorists have for years formulated the false idea that Marxism has exhausted itself as an academic discipline. Marxism must be open to the modern achievements of science but it must also preserve its methodological and ideological identity. The same applies to the attitude of Marxist scholars who have changed their positions under community pressure or those who, if they have maintained their identity and had the courage to speak out, have become socially isolated and subsequently reacting by developing extremist views. Both of these two phenomena are very bad for the popularization of Marxist sciences and we must protect ourselves against them.

Anna Przecłaska stated that ideologically committed science knows what it wants and what goals it must serve. At the same time, it is difficult to struggle for the dominance of Marxism in the social sciences because pre-Marxist methods of thinking are still very much alive.

As Jozef Pajestka said, confusion and frustration have come to dominate public thinking. Have social sciences had any effect or can they now? They certainly have made their contributions but we cannot overestimate it because our failures in the nation's economic development have had a greater influence.

Jozef Lipiec said that "social sciences, the subject of which is mankind and society, should serve the government with wisdom and with the wisdom of a Stanczyk if needed."

At the conference's conclusion, Marian Orzechowski, deputy Politburo member and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, said that the social sciences have served well to define directions and means for Marxist scholars to more effectively perform their duties. The motions made during the all-Polish party conference prove that the battle to develop in our citizens social awareness and behavior in the spirit of socialist humanism has been conducted step by step. It is making progress but it has still not kept pace with our needs. The work of the motions commission will be the object of attention of the PZPR Central Committee and will be reflected in the research and teaching activity of the Academy of Social Sciences.

The chairman of the motions commission, Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski, presented the conference resolution's proposals. Politburo Member and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Jozef Czyrek spoke at the conclusion of the conference. He stated that the conference was a unique review of forces in the social sciences. The proceedings and achievement of the conference support the view that it is not only necessary but also feasible for the social sciences to take up a broad Marxist-Leninist political offensive.

12261

CSO: 2600/351

SEJM DEPUTIES TOUR INTERNAL SECURITY FORCES BASE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Oct 84 p 6

[Article: "Deputy Visit to MSW Soldiers"]

[Text] At the beginning of 1983, the Vistula Military Units of the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] assumed the care of neglected land in Bieszczady, thus taking on the obligation of its restoration within the framework of their training. During the course of one year, thanks to the tremendous efforts of the cadre and soldiers, including the Frontier Guard, the land was recultivated, 11 cattle yards and 3 bridges were built, 6 km of roads were repaired, 30 km of watercourses were cleaned out and drainage measures were implemented.

The farm development program prepared for the next few years assumes the intensification of meat production, requiring an end to the depreciation of existing farm buildings, putting more ground under cultivation, expanding the public background, and particularly obtaining aid of every type from the local administrative authorities.

× These problems were the subject of interest of deputies Zygmunt Surowiec (ZSL, Kalisz), the chairman of the Sejm Commission on Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice, and Henryk Kostecki (PZPR, Nowy Sacz) during a 2-day deputy visit to the unit. Brigadier General Edward Tarala, the MSW chief, and Colonel Wiktor Zygmunt Filipek, the commander of the MSW Vistula Units, were present. The deputies visited the soldiers in their billeting area, and inspected the farm buildings, the stock buildings, storerooms, and the greatest investment, not yet finished, the fodder mixer.

Within a very short time the results of the deputy team visit to Bieszczady will be presented to the Sejm Commission on Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice for appraisal, and its opinion will become the basis for decisions to be made by both the central and the local administrative authorities.

6806

CSO: 2600/153

KANIA CHAIRS NEW AUDIT AGENCY OVERSIGHT GROUP

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by Z. Sem: "Realization of the Law on Trade Unions"]

[Text] The inaugural meeting of the Commission on Organs of Control and Social-Trade Matters of the Council of State took place on the 24th of this month. The agenda anticipated an examination of information from NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] on the compliance of enterprise administration with the law on trade unions, and an evaluation of the collective settlement of labor disputes. Stanislaw Kania chaired the discussions.

The NIK information reveals that the extent of realization of the law on trade unions depends to a great degree on the date of registration of the organization and the time the elections are conducted. The earlier the union was formed, the better the terms of its collaboration with the plant management. More such conformity can be reached, according to the NIK control results. Thus, joint activity between the administration and trade union organizations has proceeded much more regularly when the management cadre has been open to the union. The level of legal service in the enterprise and understandings signed between the union and the workforce self-management, obviously having due authorization, have not been without effect.

In all, however, in many plants the law on trade unions has not yet been duly implemented. The participants in the discussion were often upset because there may be only a pretense of management in up to two-thirds of the enterprises checked. Speakers asserted that under such conditions special acknowledgment of accepted activity undertaken is due to the trade unions, and they postulated not only training for the directors, but also the drawing of long-term personnel conclusions.

According to data from the State Labor Inspectorate, 556 collective disputes were found in 408 plants examined. In 89.3 percent, the position of the trade unions was considered after the discussions. The Public Arbitration College received five of these disputes. One ended with a verdict recognizing the claim of the trade unionists, while in the other four agreement was reached between the parties. This information leads to the conclusion that the method

for solving conflicts between employer and employee, anticipated in the law on trade unions, can properly fulfill its role and prevent collective disputes from breaking out into open conflict.

The results of this discussion will be presented to the Council of State. The conclusions also contained a demand for a general evaluation of the functioning of the law on trade unions to be made on all levels.

6806

CSO: 2600/153

ACADEMICIANS MEET, RAP GOVERNMENT SCIENCE POLICIES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Oct 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by b.k.: "Science Must Be Appreciated More and More Must Be Required of It"]

[Text] On the 18th of this month the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] held a scientific meeting devoted to a summation of the achievements and shortcomings in such important areas of public activity as culture, the national economy, and science.

Attending the discussion were the chairman of the Council of State, Henryk Jablonski, the vice marshal of the Sejm, Halina Skibniewska, council members, scientists and PAN members.

The meeting began with a statement from the PAN chairman, Prof Jan Kostrzewski, who recalled that the successive decades of People's Poland had been concluded with an analysis of changes and achievements of the country. These appraisals demonstrated the gradual development and progress of our country.

The first period was the formation of its social and political outlook, and also of reconstruction. The second 10-year period was enriched by an economic program placing the major emphasis on the building up of industry and its related urbanization. However, even then the first signs of reservations appeared with respect to the style of management. October 1956 demonstrated this. We entered our third and fourth decades with a substantial professional cadre potential and with a developing industry. But the world has also been advancing rapidly. The results achieved and the progress made were unsatisfactory in comparison to the growing expectations and demands. Even in the field of science and technology, the intellectual potential increased but was not and still is not properly developed. During the present difficult period, maintaining Poland's proper place in the world requires intelligent and well-planned work.

Then Prof Bogdan Suchodolski delivered a report entitled "Culture in Society," with the subtitle of "Achievements, Disappointments and Hopes on the 40th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic."

He spoke of various sources of creativity and of cultural life in People's Poland, and of the development of the movement aimed at obtaining more and more groups of people for socialism, and of the movements associated with it.

Prof Wieslaw Sandowski presented a statistical picture of the economic changes in Poland before and after the war, and pointed out that statistics can be an indispensable tool in analyzing phenomena essential for economic life, as well as in analyzing their causes. According to the "Maly Rocznik Statystyczny" [Small Statistical Yearbook] of 1927, the agricultural and mining production of Poland placed us in one of the lowest positions in Europe. Industrial production likewise was incomparably lower than in the majority of European countries. In 1937 we produced 3.6 billion kilowatt hours of electrical power, compared to 50 billion kilowatt hours in Germany, 29 in England, and 18 in France. We produced 1.5 million tons of steel, while Germany produced 20 million tons, England 13 and France 8 million tons.

The same comparison made for the postwar decades also illustrates that since the war there are countries which are developing more rapidly and are closing the gap separating them from the most developed countries faster than we are. The efficiency of our economy or, in other words, its effectiveness, has been alarmingly low in recent years.

In an analysis of scientific policy, Prof Jan Rychlewski called attention, among other things, to the fact that with the exhaustion of abundant sources for development technological progress must become the main effective force for development. Up to this time the linking of research goals with directions of socioeconomic development, constantly proclaimed by the state and supported as a principle by scientific groups, has never been realized.

For example, the great development of the Polish chemical industry and the development of scientific schools, outstanding in physical chemistry, have never been interrelated processes, which has often led to a lack of coherence. The same thing is true of coal. Increased extraction has not been accompanied by comprehensive processing, and so on. One of the causes of this condition has been the constant lack, during these 40 years, of long-range plans and prognoses for socioeconomic development, determining the way to solve energy, raw materials and technological problems. According to Prof Rychlewski, an essential failure in our scientific policy is that it has not contributed to the formation of a plan for scientific and technological development linked to the development of the country. The fact that the real outlays for science in building up the state in 1982 were barely 54 percent of the 1978 outlays, and that there was a further drop in 1983, is also disquieting. This condition is contrary to the tasks of Polish science. This was discussed at the meeting in April of this year between the PAN leadership and the state leadership. A number of decisions were made in this area to alleviate the shortcomings of science to some degree. Still, the moral weight of the proper use of these resources and the selection and maintenance of research priorities rest on the scientific community. Science should be supported more, and more should be demanded of it.

In the afternoon discussions were conducted in several sections on the subjects of "Culture and Society," "The National Economy," and "Science--Policy and Development."

Listening to the discussions produced the feeling that many of the opinions expressed and analyses conducted could be the inspiration for the formation of programs of future activity.

6806

CSO: 2600/153

POLAND

BRIEFS

APPROPRIATION OF FUNDS INVESTIGATED--The Voivodship prosecutor in Elblag has begun an investigation into the matter of appropriation of at least z1 million from the "Organika" enterprise in Malbork. From the investigation to date it emerges that the socialized economy units have been charged with the costs of the construction of a private summer house for the director of the health care group. The prosecutor has temporarily arrested five people, including (Jerzy Kozlowski), director of the "Organika" enterprise; (Tadeusz Krajka), chief of the enterprise construction works, and (Zbigniew Grzegorzolowski), director of the Malbork health care group. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 19 Dec 84]

CSO: 2600/370

HUNGARIAN HISTORICAL ARTICLES ATTACKED BY ROMANIANS

Ethnic Persecutions Under Horthy Regime

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 6 Dec 84 pp 12-13

[Article by Florin Constantiniu and Mihai Ionescu]

[Text] Fascism has lodged in the collective memory of mankind as the reminder of a nightmare that left behind it tens of millions of lost human lives and as many souls aggrieved or wounded by the loss of their dear ones, as well as enormous destruction of property created by mankind over the centuries. History has pronounced its just and relentless verdict that fascism in all its forms was one of the worst ideologies and tragedies in the history of mankind. The struggle against fascism was the reaction in self-defense of a humanity compelled to choose between destruction and enslavement or progress and democracy. The attempt for nearly 40 years to revive principles or ideas of the political theory and practice of fascism by placing them in circulation can only arouse the profound indignation of all men of good faith.

In the context of the peoples' firm resolve to reject any manifestations of neo-Nazism, neofascism, revanchism and racism, as well as any attempts to bring back fascism, the article in the Hungarian journal KRITIKA No 8, August 1984, entitled "On the Causes of a Resignation" arouses strong disapproval and considerable bewilderment. What is presented to the reader under this apparently inoffensive title? Attila Bonhardt and Sandor Szakaly publish the memo of May 1943 written by Gen Vilmos Nagy, then minister of national defense in the Budapest government, to Miklos Horthy, regent of Hungary, explaining the reasons for his resignation from the government. The document is accompanied by a commentary and some notes of the two publishers, intended to provide the readers with the information needed to understand and interpret the published text and especially to fully establish the integrity of the personage.

Publication of such a document entails a great responsibility on the part of its publishers because the circulation of a writing of a Horthyist general who was an important representative of a fascist regime without the proper critical annotations (especially necessary because the journal publishing it is entitled KRITIKA) and even with laudatory epithets results in dissemination of fascist, chauvinist, revanchist and anti-Romanian ideas.

But before any comments are made, the Romanian reader should be informed as to who Gen Vilmos Nagy was.

The author of the published text, a close friend of Horthy's, held the office of minister of national defense from 24 September 1942 to 12 June 1943 in Miklos Kallay's government. He has indentified with the ever major aims of Horthyism, namely revisionism, territorial annexation, aggression and anticommunism. As Horthy's adviser and a high military commander he became a party to and an executor of all the decisions that marked the evolution of Horthyist Hungary on the eve of and during World War II, which decisions led to the alliance with Hitlerite Germany, Hungary's occupation of territories belonging to Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia, and Hungary's participation in the anti-Soviet War as a faithful and permanent supporter of the Axis, as it styled itself.

In the face of this military-political career, which rose along with the Horthyist regime itself, the reader is astonished to find that in the opinion of the publishers of the text, Vilmos Nagy "took a national position."

What does a "national position" actually mean? We feel we should remind the publishers of Voltaire's words, "If you wish to talk to me, define your terms." A national position implies identification with a nation's highest interests. Did Vilmos Nagy, as a Horthyist minister, take a "national position"? Does not such a statement open the way to another and much more serious one to the effect that at least in some respects the Horthyist regime also took a "national position"? The publishers of the text state only that Vilmos Nagy opposed "unconditional satisfaction of their (the Germans -- our note) political, economic and military demands."

In No 6, 1984 of the Budapest publication REVUE DE HONGRIE we read the following about the Horthyist regime so loyally served by Gen Vilmos Nagy, recalled now by a journal with a wide circulation to the attention of the young generations who, it seems, are expected to sing his "good deeds": "Between the two world wars the power in Hungary was held by the political forces of the right. After the fall of the Soviet Republic in 1919 the regent Miklos Horthy headed this kingdom without a king. The cabinets he appointed maintained close ties with Mussolini's Italy in the 1920's and with Hitlerite Germany in the 1930's. One of the effects of this policy was the Hungarian government's entry in the war against the Soviet Union. Later on some leaders of the rightist Hungarian regime realized that they had chosen the wrong camp, and the outward signs of this realization at first aroused Hitler's distrust and then his anger."

If we were to follow the logic of Vilmos Nagy's publishers, we would have to conclude that serving the Horthyist regime, the alliance with Germany, occupation of foreign soil and participation in the anti-Soviet war constitute a "national position," or defense of the Hungarian people's most vital interests.

The characteristics of Vilmos Nagy's "national position" are particularly clear (but very harmful to the present times) when he refers in his "Report" to Horthy to the claims of the regime he was representing and serving upon the ancient Romanian land of Transylvania. Vilmos Nagy was identified as we said with the predatory and enslaving aims of Horthy's Hungary, and he identified himself with the idea of the "millenary" Hungary, built up over the centuries by aggression and oppression.

KRITIKA does not hesitate to reproduce one of the basic ideas of Vilmos Nagy's political credo: "I have always maintained that we must remain faithful to the Axis powers to the finish," and, further on, his main concern:

"The nation must have part of the army available in case of an attack that threatens us from the Romanians, the Slovaks and possibly the Serbs. We now have about four light divisions in the country, and we cannot allow them to leave the country as long as this danger exists and until we have equipped our divisions with the most modern weaponry possible.

"Romania's attitude is so unpredictable that we must take all security measures against it. Romania keeps insisting that the present situation must be changed because it cannot give up the territories in northern Transylvania, and what is more it even wants to advance to the Tisza.

"It is very possible that if the Anglo-Saxons land somewhere in the Balkans, or if the position of the German armed forces becomes critical, Romania will turn its back on Germany. In that case we must expect it to try to regain northern Transylvania with the Romanian armed forces in the country, and we must prevent that at any cost."

Now let us look at history as it is. It is well known that on 30 August 1940 Romania was robbed by force and dictation of the northwestern part of the territory, 42,243 square kilometers in area, wherein the absolute majority of the population was Romanian. An old ancestral land, a home of Romanian ethnic origin and continuous residence and civilization, was brutally snatched under threat of force from the national territorial heritage and annexed to Horthyist Hungary as a reward for the latter's whole pro-Hitler policy in the preceding period. Under the guise of the same "high" protection Horthy's regime had also "enriched" its territorial endowment by annexing 12,000 square kilometers of Czechoslovakia's territory (2 November 1938), and in April 1941 it was to participate in the partition of Yugoslavia by occupying the Bacia region.

The fact that these territorial annexations that were to restore the "millenary" Hungary were made under the patronage and auspices of the Axis forces explains Vilmos Nagy's profession of faith (a pillar of the "national position" validated by those who circulated the text): "I have always maintained that we must remain faithful to the Axis powers to the finish." Vilmos Nagy very well knew the position of the powers of the anti-Hitlerite coalition on the Dictate of Vienna of 30 August 1940, namely nonrecognition of any one of the territorial changes made during the war. But was this point not clear to the publishers? Or did they confuse it intentionally?

The Romanian people never concealed their determination to liberate the area annexed by Horthyist Hungary on 30 August 1940. Romanian public opinion in those dire days of national tragedy categorically expressed its condemnation and a strong will to fight for annulment of the fascist Dictate of Vienna. This legitimate action, i.e. a people's firm will to restore their partitioned nation, was for Vilmos Nagy and for the Hungarian revanchist circles neither more nor less than "something we must prevent at any cost."

In the office he held, Vilmos Nagy also took due measures to that end. As we read in his report to Horthy, "For that very reason we no longer have the right to allow our military forces to be used outside the nation's borders. He thought that would be "a criminal attempt upon the Hungarian nation's interests." It was absolutely necessary for the Horthyist government to keep as many military forces as possible within the country and the occupied territories in order to crush any possible attempt of Romania's to liberate the stolen territory by force of arms. Instead of disseminating the aims of the Horthyist regime and actually rehabilitating them with no commentary whatever, the publishers should have made an in-depth analysis from Marxist positions of the respective circumstances in order to determine what were the negative, reactionary trends and positions opposed to the historical imperatives and the principles of national and social justice, and what were the Hungarian people's true progressive and revolutionary interests in keeping with the general progress of mankind's history.

In their commentary the publishers of the text attach great importance to Vilmos Nagy's attitude toward the repressive measures of the Horthyist regime: "The measures he (Vilmos Nagy) initiated considerably improved the living and working conditions of the Jews and non-Jews in the auxiliary and special forced-labor detachments." According to the publishers, "Vilmos Nagy acted with the strictest legality during the period he held the ministerial portfolio." The legitimate question arises, what legality do they mean, because to speak directly it was the Horthyist legality, that is a fascist legality. What that meant is clearly indicated by what was done in the northwestern part of Romania stolen by the Dictate of Vienna, among other things. As soon as the occupation authorities were installed they opened a brutal persecution of the majority Romanian population, resorting to the familiar fascist arsenal of massacres, arrests, deportations etc. We have only to remember the mass murders in Ip and Trasnea (Salaj County) to unmask the hideous face of Horthyist "legality" again in all its horror. But these horrors are also attested by the 290,000 Romanians driven out or forced to leave their homes by 1 September 1944, the 30,000 Romanians deported to forced labor in Germany, the tens of thousands impressed into the so-called labor battalions, which actually became extermination camps, the regular policy of denationalizing the Romanians, the prohibition of their language, profanation of their religious shrines, closure of their schools, etc. This "legality" actually meant an ethnic genocide intended to liquidate the indigenous and majority Romanian population physically and culturally. Due to these measures the Romanian population in the territory occupied by Hungary decreased by 16 percent in only 4 years.

The Romanians were not the only victims of this savage policy toward the non-Hungarian ethnic elements. The same barbarous practices were repeated in the occupied territories in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

The attitude toward Jews underwent a tragic evolution determined by the course of events in World War II. The true extent of the holocaust in Hungary has been brought out in countless works published by historians of World War II, and recently by the American historian Randolph Braham among others. When the Berlin-Rome Axis was defeated, the Jewish population was a political asset for political-diplomatic negotiations and transactions for which some representatives of the Horthyist regime were disposed to attenuate the racial persecution in Hungary. It is significant that neither Vilmos Nagy nor his present publishers have

any reason for the repressive measures taken by the Horthyist regime in the territories taken from Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia. The "national position" attributed to Vilmos Nagy by his publishers was confined to the Jewish population. The others, the Slovaks, Romanians, Serbians etc. who were arrested, tortured and killed solely because they wanted to remain Slovaks, Romanians or Serbians and to speak their own languages, did not matter. According to Vilmos Nagy and his present publishers, they could be maltreated and exterminated because that conformed to the alleged legality and national position that the publishers write about. The Horthyist regime's repressive measures struck indiscriminately against all those who were fighting against the fascist terror and for freedom, justice and democracy. In camps and prisons Hungarians, Romanians, Slovaks, Serbians and Jews suffered the Horthyist terror alike.

Do the publishers of the document and the editors of KRITIKA have no information about the fate of the Jewish population in the time of Horthyism?

The fate of the Jews in Hungary and the occupied territories was closely related to the catastrophic effects of the "final solution," the physical liquidation of the Jews, decreed by the dictatorial governments of Horthyist Hungary. For example, in 1940 in the occupied Romanian territory alone over 130,000 of the 151,125 Jews counted by the Hungarian census authorities in 1941 were transported to the extermination camps. In view of such facts any attempt to portray personages of ill memory in the dictatorial regimes uncritically or in a favorable light encourages the attempts to revive the loathsome phantoms that are neo-Nazism, neo-fascism, Horthyism and their variations.

The Horthyist regime's aggressive policy against Romania peaked after 23 August 1944, when Romania, by a resolute act of national sovereignty, joined the war against Nazi Germany and committed all its material and manpower forces alongside the Soviet armies to the struggle for the total defeat of fascism and the liberation of the northwestern part of the country.

Let us recall Vilmos Nagy's thoughts about a possible reorientation of Romania's policy toward the Nazi Reich: "It is very possible that if the Anglo-Saxons land somewhere in the Balkans or if the position of the German armed forces becomes critical Romania will turn its back on Germany. The publishers of the text add this apparently innocent note about those thoughts: 'Vilmos Nagy's 'prediction' was completely confirmed in August 1944.'"

Is this clairvoyance that the publishers of Vilmos Nagy's text attribute to the Horthyist general historically accurate? Actually, Romania entered the anti-Hitler war at "the time when Germany's defeat had not yet been determined," as the highest authorities of the powers of the anti-Hitler coalition recognized, and was not capitalizing on the circumstances. Why then do the publishers of the text minimize the significance and importance of Romania's heroic action on 23 August 1944, entirely accepting the explanation of the Romanian action that Vilmos Nagy had offered in 1913? Do the publishers of the text not know that the Horthyist general himself concluded in his memoirs "Fatal Years" (published in 1947) that the Hungarian army would have had to follow the example of the Romanian army and annihilated the German troops or driven them out of Hungary. They overlook the fact that the liberation of 23 August was the act of the entire people's will that overthrew Antonescu's dictatorship in accordance with the

nation's deeply antifascist feelings. Did the publishers not know that 23 August 1944 is a national holiday of the Romanian people, a friendly neighboring people in a country with relations of friendship and collaboration with Hungary? Or could it be for that very reason that Vilmos Nagy's text with the very cursory comments and uncritical explanatory notes accompanying it were published in the very month of August 1944, when all the workers in Romania were celebrating the historic act with new and great achievements in construction of the fully developed socialist society? Or was the text published to remind us that the month of August 1944 was 44 years after the Dictate of Vienna, of which Gen Vilmos Nagy appears as a delayed advocate? Did the publishers not know that it was in those days at the end of August 1944 that the Horthyist regime decided to open its military aggression against Romania for the purpose of occupying all of Transylvania?

We confine ourselves in this connection to reminding the publishers of two entries in the diary of Lt Gen Janos Voros, chief of staff of the Hungarian army of the time: "31 August 1944. Conversations this morning with 2d Lt Gen Guderian (chief of staff of the German land forces -- our note). I described the situation to him as we see it... Then I presented our plan for occupying the passes in the Southern Carpathians. Lt Gen Guderian agreed." "1 September 1944. In its meeting today the Supreme Council for Defense decided to open an offensive in Southern Transylvania." (The Hungarian general's diary was published in German in WEHRWISSENSCHAFTLICHE RUNDSCHAU, Vol XX (1970), No 11, pp 634-659 and No 12, pp 703-732).

The publishers made no critical comment on the Horthyist general's statement that Romania was not only persevering in the liberation of its territory but "even wants to advance to the Tisza." Of course these publishers know what the Romanian army wanted and what it actually did. After liberating the national territory basely stolen through the Dictate of Vienna, it carried on the struggle alongside the Soviet Union and spilled its blood to liberate all Hungary from the clutches of the fascist forces and Czechoslovakia as well as far as Austria, until the Axis powers were defeated and Hitlerism was destroyed. Only those whom this historical fact does not suit knowingly ignore the fact that Romania committed about 540,000 soldiers, about 170,000 of whom died, to the glorious battles of its army in the anti-Hitlerite war, and that the Romanian army liberated about 4,000 localities including 1,237 on Hungarian territory. The bones of tens of thousands of Romanian soldiers who died to liberate Hungary lie in the cemeteries scattered throughout that country as a moving and everlasting testimony to the Romanian people's contribution to the liberation of their Hungarian neighbors from fascism.

With no critical commentary or objective analysis of the facts, the publication of Vilmos Nagy's text is actually a serious distortion of the historical truth so far from a contribution to knowledge of it. By publishing this material KRI-TIKA brings back the Horthyist regime and one of its leading representatives and consequently disseminates anti-Romanian and revanchist. In their comments the publishers of the text seem to be trying to rehabilitate Horthyism.

Romanian Claim to Transylvania Reasserted

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 20 Dec 84 pp 12-13

[Article by Dinu C. Giurescu and Al. Gh. Savu: "KRITIKA Praises a Past Condemned by History"]

[Text] Who benefits is the question any honest man asks himself when he reads the study compiled by Istvan Bibó, "The Beginnings of Hungarian Democracy," published in KRITIKA No 9, 1984 and edited by Sandor Szilagy under the title "From Istvan Bibó's Legacy." For who actually does benefit and how by recirculating in this study some theories conveyed by ideologies of Horthyist revanchism and revisionism?

The peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe have learned in the great school of history that each one's progress and prosperity depend upon their mutual esteem, acquaintance and respect and upon development of collaboration among them.

In that climate, confirmed especially after World War II, the legitimate question arises as to who benefits by the effort of some contributors to KRITIKA to draw tears over the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Who benefits by reviving theories and ideas manipulated by the ruling classes in Hungary in order to attack at that time the system of peace treaties concluded after World War I? They are undoubtedly intended to help maintain a state of agitation and instigation of the Hungarian and other peoples concerning the historical facts existing in the world today.

But who is Istvan Bibó? Little known in Romania, he is "highly esteemed" according to Sandor Szilagy in journalistic circles in Hungary as a political scientist, historian and jurist. We find in the publisher's introduction that the study in question was written in March and April 1946 and is in fact an "official report" compiled by Istvan Bibó as head of the Department of Public Administration in the Ministry of the Interior upon the request of the service for preparing documentation for the Paris Peace Conference in 1946-1947.

Istvan Bibó's views and judgments in this study about the domestic situation in Hungary before and after 1944, the origin and development of Hungarian democracy, the political party system, the electoral system etc. are of course matters of interest to the reader in Hungary. We shall not allow ourselves to pass judgments on those problems. But this study also conveys a number of theories that seriously distort important points in the Romanian people's history and Romanian-Hungarian relations to which we certainly cannot be indifferent. Publication of material compiled at the request of those bound by the bad attitude of the past, who hoped the peace treaties concluded after World War II could win the day for Hungary in the sense of maintaining the territories of other states invaded by the Horthyist regime in 1938-1941, material revived without any commentary or critical notes on the part of the publisher, can only express revanchist and revisionist ideas and disseminate anti-Romanian views garnered from the arsenal of the imperialist policy.

Following the thread of history, Istvan Bibó makes references to the Hungarian revolution of 1848-1849 and its lessons. In this connection he states, "After

a heroic struggle of $1\frac{1}{2}$ years the Hungarian revolution of 1848-1849 was defeated by the two great reactionary powers in Europe at the time. But the defeat in itself was not fatal for the development of Hungarian democracy, but the fact that at that time, when it was supporting the ideas of freedom, democracy and state independence alone in Eastern Europe, it was automatically confronted with the inhabitants of the country who spoke another language and who allied themselves with Austria and Russia because of the linguistic injustices suffered under the Hungarian state, since Austria and Russia represented the cause of the reaction against the Hungarian nation that was identified with the cause of democracy... The greatest dream of the Hungarian democratic movement was an independent democratic state in historical Hungary." Without denying the progressive social nature of the Hungarian revolution against the feudal Habsburg aristocracy, there is a clear incompatibility in Istvan Bibo's conclusions between "democracy" and maintenance of "historical Hungary," an incompatibility which the author as well as his publisher deliberately ignore. What democracy could exist for the nations shackled within the borders of "historical Hungary"? As Marx said about that kind of "democracy" in 1848, "When the revolution broke out in February 1848, the Hungarians thought the time had come to found the great Hungarian fatherland, the strong and vigorous Hungarian nation, upon the ruins of the other nationalities." (K. Marx, "Notes on the Romanians (Unpublished Manuscripts)," Bucharest 1964) Actually the "democrats" of Budapest adopted a Constitution that stipulated the annexation of Transylvania to Hungary in Article 7, of course not only without consulting the Romanians, the majority nation, but also against their will. It is well known that the Romanian nation in Transylvania requested its national independence and "unification with Romania" at Blaj in May 1848, on grounds of the principles of freedom, equality and brotherhood. K. Marx commented, "The national cause is gaining ground," and he described the struggle of the Romanians in the Kingdom of Hungary in 1848 as a "national war."

But Istvan Bibo has another opinion, namely that in 1848-1849 "Hungary was in the forefront of the democratic struggles for freedom". For what freedom and what kind of freedom are questions for which we find no answers from either the author or the publisher of his study.

Actually the 1848 program plotted the incorporation of largely foreign territories inhabited by nations more numerous than the Hungarian nation who were to be held by force within the "apostolic kingdom" and denationalized under a new oppressive regime installed in the place of the Habsburg one. It was this political design that caused the extraordinary growth of the resistance and struggle for national liberation of the Romanians, Czechs, Slovaks and many nations within the multinational empire, compelling the promoters and supporters of the "great Hungary," who were too weak to achieve that "ideal" by their own forces, to settle in 1867 for the Austro-Hungarian dualism, "that compromise that was a partial independence and a partial democracy in nature but maintained a state structure of historical Hungary," as Istvan Bibo calls it.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the struggle for national liberation of the Romanians in the dual monarchy as well as that of the other oppressed nations peaked in 1918, when sovereign, independent and united states were established or completed their unity on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As V. I. Lenin had said in 1916, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was not a "political organization of a bourgeois state but merely a flimsy union of a few cliques of

social parasites," and "Historically, the liquidation of Austria-Hungary was only a continuation of the disintegration of Turkey, being, like the latter, a necessity of the historical process of development." (V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 30, Bucharest 1964, p 8)

Accordingly, by the end of 1918 the victory of the principle of nationalities and the peoples' right to self-determination was an irreversible reality, a victory won by the individual oppressed nations after a long struggle against all the domestic and foreign forces interested in preserving the status quo. This new reality could no longer be changed by cabinet decisions or "agreements" at the conference table.

The Paris Peace Conference of 1919-1920, taking account of the historical realities, the peoples' will, and the irreversible processes that had set in, sanctioned the national states by international law that had been completed or constituted in their ethnic borders. Accordingly the peace treaty with Hungary signed at Trianon in June 1920 recognized the return of Transylvania to the motherland, Romania, in its natural borders as the Romanian people had decided by right of self-determination at the Grand National Assembly at Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918.

Following the course of the ruling classes in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and playing the game of the aristocracy and the great Hungarian landowners who misused their positions in the former two-headed empire, Istvan Bibó said, "The Trianon Peace Treaty was not on the firm basis of the ethnic principles and those of self-determination that could replace the historical principle, and in the course of dividing historical Hungary it reduced Hungary at several points to an area narrower than its own ethnic frontiers."

Actually we are in the presence of a basic principle of Horthyist revisionism, which loudly trumpeted the outmoded idea of restoring historical Hungary while falsifying the facts and distorting the data on the ethnic structure of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Budapest governors' policy of forced Magyarization of Transylvanian Romanians and the other nationalities during the Austro-Hungarian dualism is well-known. Note the views of the well-known French geographer Jacques Ancel, who wrote in indignation at the Hungarian aristocracy's organized assault upon Romanian culture in Transylvania that "The elementary schools, including kindergartens, are being Magyarized. Since 1879 Romanian children of 3-6 years have had to go to kindergartens where only Hungarian is spoken. The non-Hungarian schools have decreased from 58 to 14 percent. Out of 40,596 pupils in the secondary schools in 1880-1890, 72 percent were Hungarians and 6 percent were Romanians. Not one of the 58 professors at Cluj University is a Romanian, and it is the only Transylvanian university, while 72.6 percent of its students are Hungarians and 11.6 percent are Romanians... Place names and even surnames are being Magyarized!" (Jacques Ancel, "Les frontieres roumaines. Geographie politique," 1934) Yet despite this policy of forced denationalization, the official censuses taken by the Hungarian authorities themselves had to recognize the majority presence of the Romanians in Transylvania. For example, the censuses bring out the following figures:

	1880	1890	1900	1910
1. Románi	2 290 424	2 556 444	2 763 674	2 909 260
2. In %	47.4	47.88	47.20	46.20
3. Maghiari	916 628	1 146 890	1 394 647	1 617 231
2. In %	18.94	21.50	23.80	25.70

(The figures were calculated on the basis of the 1910 census. Magyar Korona orszagaibank 1910 eninepszambalasa II, resz. Budapest 1912)

1. Romanians

2. In percentages

3. Hungarians

The situation was much more disproportionate in the dual monarchy as a whole. In speaking of the Habsburg Empire in the last century Fr. Engels quite rightly concluded that "This motley complex resulting from legacies and thefts, this organized hodge-podge mixing 10 languages and 10 nations, this haphazard mixture of some of the most contradictory customs and laws is finally beginning to fall apart." (K. Marx and Fr. Engels, "Works," Vol 4, Bucharest 1958, p 511)

So much for the so-called "ethnic principles" and "ethnic frontiers" that Istvan Bibó invokes in his complaint.

The Hungarian people should be told these truths, and they should know that Transylvania was never Hungarian soil but territory seized by the Hungarian kingdom. It is true that a population of Hungarian origin also settled in Transylvania in the last millennium. They bound their fate with that of the Romanian people, helping to create material and cultural values and fighting for freedom and social justice with the Romanians in critical periods of history.

After 1918 the Hungarian reaction and the exploiting classes tried to make the nationalities problem a political principle used to regain the lands that did not belong to them. The Budapest governors contested the legitimacy of the acts of self-determination of the peoples in the former monarchy and that of the nationalities principle as a basis of the new political and territorial order in Central and Southeast Europe, and they contested the validity and viability of the system of Paris peace treaties, including the Treaty of Trianon. On that basis the arsenal of Hungarian revisionist arguments against the order established by the peoples in 1918 was constantly enriched in the period between the wars.

In his analysis of the Horthyist regime Istvan Bibó finds nothing to criticize in Hungary's aggressive foreign policy but even justifies it on the ground that the alleged injustices of the Treaty of Trianon legitimized the Budapest government's revisionism and "drove Hungary to the path of fascistization... The injustices done to the Hungarians outside the Trianon frontiers sustained the illusion of intact historical Hungary."

Ignoring the irreversible laws of history, Istvan Bibó accredits the idea that Hungary was driven to fascism by the Treaty of Trianon. It was not the treaty that caused fascism to be established in Hungary but the policy of the exploiting classes and their desperate attempt to restore their economic and political positions under the dual monarchy and to go on oppressing and annexing other peoples

and lands. That is graphically demonstrated by the fact that after the conclusion of the peace after World War II, thanks to working-class leadership of the Hungarian state and that of the democratic and patriotic forces Hungary did not relapse into fascism or revisionism but set out upon a democratic, progressive path of collaboration with the neighboring countries and all states of the world.

As we know, throughout the period between the wars Horthyist Hungary pursued a policy of force and dictation and of revision of the peace treaties and frontiers. Accordingly, being unable to attain its ends by its own forces, it became an agency of Hitlerite Germany and an advanced pawn of Nazi imperialism and international reaction in Central and Southeast Europe. It fostered a psychosis of insecurity in that geographic area, one of discord and poisoning of international relations, and it was a constant threat to the independence and integrity of the bordering states. Rejecting collaboration with the neighboring peoples especially, as well as their friendly advances for two decades, Horthyist Hungary integrated itself instead in the aggressive, expansionist policy of the Axis, which was driving it to disaster. In 1938, under the patronage of Hitlerite Germany, it invaded parts of Czechoslovakia, in 1940 it invaded northwestern Romania, and in 1941 it occupied parts of Yugoslavia's national territory. The policy of force and dictation pursued by Horthyist Hungary, its aggressive acts, and its direct participation in the destruction of international peace, security and stability adversely affected the European climate, placing it unquestionably among the forces that prepared and started World War II.

In the maelstrom of World War II and the Hitlerite war against the USSR, Horthyist Hungary played an important part alongside the Axis powers and the German Reich especially. In pointing this out, the Hungarian historian Kallai Gyula wrote, "Horthy supported all actions of the fascist Axis powers. As soon as Hitlerite Germany attacked the Soviet Union he aligned himself with that plundering war. Revision of the Treaty of Trianon was the main argument used by the Hungarian reaction to substantiate its alliance with Hitlerist fascism." (Kallai Gyula, "The Movement for Hungarian Independence (1936-1945)," 5th ed, Budapest 1965, p 30.)

Along the same lines H. Vert, the chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, argued in a memorandum to the government that the time had come to join Nazi Germany in the war against the USSR with all economic and military forces. "If we delay entry in the war we shall have to give up, perhaps forever, future territorial claims on Romania, and we may even jeopardize all we have gained so far." ("History of Diplomacy," Vol IV, edited by A. A. Gromyko, minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Moscow, Publishing House for Political Literature, 1975, pp 104-105)

Upon examining the events of the last part of World War II, Istvan Bibó draws the false conclusion that if the Horthyist regime, its direct successor or possibly another one in democratic guise had arranged Hungary's withdrawal from the alliance with the Reich earlier, it would have been possible to keep at least some of the neighboring lands wrongly occupied by Horthy. To this effect, Istvan Bibó writes, "Hungary's withdrawal from World War II was badly prepared both technically and diplomatically. The collapse in a single afternoon was complete. The Hungarian patriots suffering under German domination waited desperately after 15 October for some news on the air indicating that one of the legitimate representatives of the Hungarian government would form the government to conclude the

armistice somewhere in the Hungarian territory occupied by the Red Army. But the foreign radio stations announced only the desertion of generals and soldiers to the other side, encouraging national resistance, and gave no news of the formation of any government anywhere. After a few weeks of desperate waiting the Hungarian patriots were astonished to find that the fall of Hungary was much more serious than that of Italy, Romania, Bulgaria or Finland..."

Equating quite different historical situations, the author extends the term "collapse" to some events of national and European significance, such as the Antifascist and Anti-imperialist Revolution for National and Social Liberation in Romania, in order to tacitly build a framework for the ideas he wishes to substantiate. On false premises, he reaches the equally false conclusion that Hungary would have had a chance to save some of the "heritage" of Horthy's gains if it had succeeded in arranging a "turning point" by the right time like the one that was reached on 23 August 1944 in Romania. He writes to this effect, "Hungarian public opinion recalls with bitterness that the Romanians, who fought on the Germans' side in the war, gained many advantages through more clever political organization of their withdrawal from the war which cannot be a reward just for being more clever." This aberrant statement betrays a deliberate, tendentious distortion by the author of the truth about critical points in the history of the Romanian party and people and in their battle for freedom, unity and the right to self-determination in their own country.

As we know the RCP militated very consistently from the start for a policy of peace and collaboration uniting the national forces against the aggressive policy of fascism and war. The progressive circles and the masses under the communists' leadership took a resolute stand against the invasions of Hitler's Germany and their aggression against the USSR, emphatically condemning Romania's participation in this war against the Romanian people's interests. The RCP mobilized and united the most diverse strata of the population against the Hitlerite war, organizing the effort of the partisan units and patriotic detachments to sabotage the Hitlerite war machine and the Romanian people's national resistance, which made it possible to overthrow the military-fascist dictatorship and to align Romania with the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

In substance, the real and chief motive for the whole web of deceptions deliberately spun by Istvan Bibó is to accredit the point that the annulment of the fascist Dictate of Vienna, the return of northern Transylvania to the fatherland, Romania, and the recognition of this reality by the powers of the UN coalition and by all states of the world were not necessary and natural acts of justice and equity in keeping with the inalienable rights of the Romanian people but were due to chance, the Romanians being more "clever" than their western neighbors and acquiring the disputed land as a trophy that could equally well have been won by the others. Istvan Bibó says, "The first and most important task in connection with the problem of a peace treaty in itself would be to learn the lessons of the psychological effects of the Treaty of Trianon and conclude a peace treaty observing the firm principles upon which it was based," intimating that the Hungarian people's psychosis from the Treaty of Trianon would be maintained unless some territories were obtained.

It is known that the program of German fascism and the Axis powers allied with Hungary was to erase the boundaries and enslave Europe and the peoples of the

world. The latter rose to fight these ultrareactionary forces and this destructive program, and all the anti-Hitlerite forces made huge material and human sacrifices for the cause of freedom and for the destruction of fascism, that scourge of mankind. As a result those forces succeeded in defeating fascism and its mad demands. How could Istvan Bibó imagine that it was possible after that defeat for the liberated peoples and the UN coalition to restore and sanction the territorial amputations made by fascism and revisionism. Only some people oblivious to reality and without elementary logic could still hope to overthrow the real relationships of justice and freedom. The boundaries set after World War II are no matter of psychology, as Istvan Bibó asserts. They are a reality and historically just, achieved by the peoples' will and struggle, and the unification of Transylvania with the Romanian motherland was an irreversible process that not even a new treaty could change.

To disseminate the question of a new treaty today, regardless of who drafted it and when, is to promote a revanchist spirit and to play into the hands of the reactionary imperialist circles.

Let us look at the facts again in order to reestablish the truth about these matters. And the truth is that in the course of World War II (excepting Horthy's regime and the two fascist powers he served) all the states and all the peoples in the anti-Hitlerite camp continued to consider the fascist Dictate of Vienna null and void and northern Transylvania a part of Romania, with no question of "cleverness" or "political adroitness" but one of a historical right and a Romanian territory. The Dictate of Vienna was annulled between 30 August and 25 October 1944 when, expressing the will of the entire Romanian people, the Romanian Army in cooperation with the Soviet Army crushed the Hitlerite-Horthyite occupation troops in the northwest of the country and reunited northern Transylvania with the motherland.

And so Romania did not "win" any territory (northern Transylvania) because no one "wins" what belongs to him *de jure* and *de facto*, but it recovered possession of the part of its ancestral land of which the Horthyist regime had robbed it. Hungary did not "lose" any of its territory but was compelled by force of arms to leave this Romanian land invaded 4 years before through the fascist Dictate of Vienna.

The misrepresentation of the historic act of August 1944 and of Romania's reversal of arms as matters of "cleverness" in a kind of competition with Hungary is an insult to the democratic, antifascist forces in Romania as well as a profanation of the memory of hundreds of thousands of Romanian soldiers and patriots who fought and sacrificed their lives in the battles to liberate their ancestral land as well as that of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria until the final victory over fascism was won.

The Paris Peace Conference of 1946-1947 annulled the fascist Dictate of Vienna, restored Romania's natural rights, and declared all the territorial gains of the fascist and revisionist aggressors null and void. The states attending the Peace Conference unanimously condemned Horthyist revisionism and firmly rejected all the Hungarian delegation's attempts to bargain with the nations that had made supreme material and human sacrifices for the defeat of fascism, in order to steal some of the neighboring states' lands again. That is the reason for

KRITIKA's strange measure of disseminating via Istvan Bibo's study historical falsehoods intended to revive the revisionist and revanchist policy.

Regardless of the reasons and ulterior motive that may have guided the editors of KRITIKA when it was decided to publish Istvan Bibo's study, the measure can only provoke the legitimate question, who benefits? For this study obviously revives harmful revisionist and anti-Romanian theories in flagrant contradiction not only with the historical truth but also with the principles of the international relations and standards established among states and nations after World War II.

Publication of such false, reactionary and revanchist theories serves no noble purposes of historical truth or justice and can lead only to discord between two neighboring states, since they conflict with our peoples' interest in living in peace. Workers, communists, any honest man or patriot in either Romania or Hungary must militate firmly to put a stop to the policy of dissension pursued by the exploiting classes in the past and take steps to bring our peoples together and to strengthen friendship and collaboration between them.

Through its policy the RCP has made it possible for all Romanian citizens to enjoy full equality of rights and the advantages of civilization and to advance without restriction in all activities. That policy has been consistently followed and will be continued for Romania's prosperity and the cause of international peace and rapprochement.

In that spirit, the press in our countries should make it a matter of honor to oppose the situations in the past, to militate for further development of good-neighbor and cooperative relations, and to promote all that unites our peoples on the path of progress, civilization and socialist and communist construction.

5186

CSO: 2700/64

MINISTRY OF INDUSTRIAL CONSTRUCTIONS REORGANIZED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 77, 22 Oct 84, pp 1,2

[State Council decree on improving the organization of the Ministry of Industrial Constructions]

[Text] The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article I--On the date of the present decree, the Department of Constructions Abroad, currently subordinated to the Council of Ministers, is transferred to the Ministry of Industrial Constructions with its assets and liabilities and with its economic and financial plan indexes.

The duties incumbent on the department as a central body under Decree No 234/1981 will be fulfilled by the Ministry of Industrial Constructions.

Article II--Decree No 650/1969 concerning the establishment, organization, and operation of the Ministry of Industrial Constructions, enacted as Law No 45/1969 and republished in the BULETINUL OFICIAL of the Socialist Republic of Romania Part I, No 81/1979 with subsequent changes, is modified as follows:

1. Article 7 will read as follows:

"Article 7--The leadership of the Ministry of Industrial Constructions consists of a minister, one first deputy minister, two deputy ministers, and one state secretary.

"The first deputy minister is also head of the Department for Constructions Abroad.

"The first deputy minister, the deputy ministers, and the state secretary are appointed by presidential decree; their duties are established by the management council of the ministry."

2. Article 10 will read as follows:

"Article 10--The Ministry of Industrial Constructions will have the following organizational structure:

- a) Department for Constructions Abroad;
- b) General Directorate for Plan and Development;
- c) Directorate for Finances and Prices;
- d) Technical Directorate;
- e) Mechanization, Industry, and Investment Directorate;
- f) Supply Directorate;
- g) Directorate for Organization, Control, Remuneration, Personnel, and Education;
- h) Social-Administrative Directorate.

"The Department for Constructions Abroad is a plan holder, constitutes a legal entity, and operates on the basis of workers self-management and economic-financial and currency self-administration.

"The Department for Constructions Abroad is led by a departmental council and an executive bureau, which are organized and operate according to the provisions of Decree No 76/1973 concerning the leadership of ministries and other central bodies of the state administration, and on the basis of the principle of collective leadership.

"The personnel of the Department for Constructions Abroad will continue to be remunerated according to the provisions of Decrees No 234/1981 and 137/1984.

"The Supply Directorate constitutes a legal entity and operates according to the principle of economic-financial self-administration.

"The organizational structure according to labor sectors and the maximum number of positions in the ministry apparatus are those envisaged in Annexes No 1 and 2."*

Article III--The ARCOM Romanian Construction-Assembly Company and the ARCIF Romanian Land Amelioration Constructions Company belonging to the Department for Constructions abroad are reorganized as enterprise-companies with a legal entity and subordinated to the Ministry of Industrial Constructions--Department for Constructions Abroad; their duties are established under Annex No 13 to Decree No 276/1979 as modified by Decree No 136/1984.

The above enterprise-companies are integrated in the special organization grade, branch group III; their organizational structure is the structure envisaged in Annexes No 3 and 4.*

The units, production teams, companies, sections, and other subunits of the production structure of ARCOM and ARCIF preserve their lines of activity, organization, plan indexes, and economic contracts in effect on the date of the present decree.

Article IV--The Constanta Supply Center and the ROMPROIECT Study and Design Center for Constructions Abroad are transferred from the Department for Constructions Abroad to the Ministry of Industrial Constructions--Department for

*The Annexes are sent to the relevant ministries.

Constructions Abroad; they will preserve the lines of activity, organizational structure, and plan indexes in effect on the date of the present decree.

The enterprise for heavy machinery and transportation for constructions abroad, subordinated to the Department for Constructions Abroad, will be subordinated to the Mechanization Central for Constructions Abroad which is overseen and guided by the Ministry of Industrial Constructions.

Article V--Within 30 days of the date of the present decree, the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Industrial Constructions will forward for approval the modifications called for in the national uniform plan for 1984, in the 5-year plan, and in the state budget following the implementation of the present decree.

Article VI--The working personnel taken over by the Ministry of Industrial Constructions under the terms of the present decree will be viewed as the subject of a work transfer.

Article VII--The working personnel subject to work transfer or given lower paying jobs, and working personnel rendered redundant by the implementation of the provisions of the present decree will benefit from the rights envisaged in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 concerning uniform structural norms for economic units.

Article VIII--The provisions of Decree No 367/1980 concerning measures on the rational employment of personnel in socialist units, the implementation of which was extended under Decree No 476/1983, will not be applied in 1984 to positions filled by redundant personnel and to positions in units to which and from which personnel are transferred as a result of the implementation of the present decree.

Article IX--Article 42 of Decree No 234/1981 concerning the establishment, organization, and operation of the Department for Constructions Abroad; measures concerning activities involved in constructions abroad; and chapter IV, "The Department of Construction-Assembly for the Chemical Industry and Refineries" of Decree No 650/1969 concerning the establishment, organization, and operation of the Ministry of Industrial Constructions, are abrogated.

Article X--Annexes 1-4 are a part of the present decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, 18 October 1984
No 363

12782
CSO: 2700/56

DECREE ON MARKINGS OF MILITARY PLANES, TANKS, VEHICLES

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 73, 17 Sep 84 pp 1,2

[State Council decree establishing markings for aircraft, armored vehicles, cars, and tractors belonging to the armed forces of the socialist republic of Romania]

[Text] The State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1--The marking symbol on aircraft, armored vehicles, cars, and tractors belonging to the armed forces of the Socialist republic of Romania consists of three concentrical circles around the colors red, yellow, and blue.

The type, dimension, and stamping of markings on the various categories of military equipment are given in the annex to the present decree.

Article 2--Decree No 156/1950 establishing marking symbols for airplanes, tanks, and vehicles belonging to the armed forces, is abrogated.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Bucharest, 17 September 1984
No 323

ANNEX

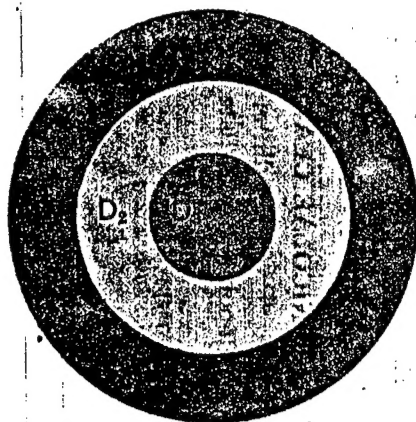
Model, dimensions, and stamping of markings on the various military equipment

Military equipment categories and position of markings	Markings size (mm)			Notes
	D1	D2	D3	
Aircraft				
Small helicopters*				
Light airplanes**	490	300	140	
Medium-size helicopters*				
Fighter planes and fighter-bombers*	700	420	200	
Medium-size transport planes, surveillance planes**	840	500	240	
Heavy transport planes**	1260	740	360	
Armored vehicles, cars, and tractors				
Armored vehicles and derivatives built on their chassis***				
Cars, tractors, and derivatives built on their chassis****	350	208	92	
Infantry combat vehicles and derivatives built on their chassis***				
Cross country vehicles and derivatives built on their chassis****	300	180	80	

The markings are stamped:

- * On the upper, lower, and side areas of the fuselage or tail beam;
- ** On the fuselage or on both sides of the tail, and on the upper and lower sides of both planes;
- *** On the left and right side of the turret or of the armored cab;
- **** On the side doors.

MODEL



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END